# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXX. NO. 8. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1869. WHOLE NO. 1,516.

**National Anti-Slavery Standard,**

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

BY THE

**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**

At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

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## *THE INDIAN QUESTION.*

MEETING AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE.—COL. S. F. TAPPAN OF THE INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.—AN ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

On Monday, the 7th inst., the Executive Committee of the United States Indian Commission met at the Cooper Institute, to hear the statements and suggestions of Col. S. F. Tappan, of Colorado, a member of the Indian Peace Commission, created by Congress in July, 1867,—in reference to our Indian Affairs. The distinguished and venerable Peter Cooper Esq., presided.

Col. Tappan commenced by thanking the gentlemen present for the opportunity given him to express his views upon this important question. We were on the eve of the greatest Indian war that ever threatened the country. It had already commenced on the frontier, and if not speedily arrested, by an act of simple justice to the Indians, would be attended with a loss of thousands of valuable lives, and tens, if not hundreds of millions of dollars, a conflict, in which we as a nation were clearly in the wrong, and if persisted in, under the circumstances, would entail upon our beloved country a crime more atrocious and infamous than that of the St. Bartholomew massacre in France some three centuries ago.

Already our commanding generals had displayed the black and piratical flag of assassination, mutilation and extermination in the Indian country, and commenced their bloody work by the massacre of the Wichata. Sherman, in an official letter, had declared, that "we" (the nation) "must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux (Indians) even to their extermination, men, women, and children." Accordingly the flag of the republic had been stained in the blood of the heroic and magnanimous chieftain, Moke-ta-va-ta. As a citizen of the United States, he denounced this course as infamous, deserving the severest censure, and its author as worthy of the worst possible human fate, and he was determined now and at all times to enter his protest against the entire proceedings. The Indians were forced to unite and make common cause against us; they can do no less and command our respect. War with them is an absolute necessity, their only means of self preservation and safety. If they go upon reservations they are liable to be massacred, "men, women and children," or starve to death; they had concluded to go upon the war path and in the defense of all they have, to compel us to gather a harvest of death and dishonor; it is all they can do and live, we would do the same, and in that decision they have acted wisely.

Last December, on the morning after the news of the massacre of the Wichata reached Washington, Col. Tappan stated that he addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs upon this subject as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C. Dec. 4th, 1868.

*Hon. N. G. Taylor, President Indian Peace Commission and Commissioner of Indian Affairs:*

DEAR SIR: The dispatches of yesterday, as published in the papers, of an engagement a few days ago, between a detachment of United States troops and a camp of Cheyenne Indians, near the Wichata River, Indian Territory, give me apprehensions of a serious and protracted war as the consequence. I believe that attack by the army upon a detached village of Cheyenne Indians, numbering fifty-three lodges, and the killing of a score of the fifty-three warriors, attended with a loss of twenty-five or thirty soldiers, will result in the union of all the Indians south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and west of Kansas, and the eastern portion of the Indian Territory (not even excepting the Utes, who for many years have been at war with the Plains Indians, and at peace with the whites), in a war against the army and the people on the border,—unless this war policy is immediately abandoned, and your department enabled to give positive and sufficient guarantees of protection, and a faithful fulfillment of all treaty stipulations entered into with the different tribes. This must be done at once, or there will be a war in the West of such fearful magnitude—extending as it undoubtedly will, through the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah, along the frontier of Texas and Kansas, an area of over half a million square miles, as to require an immense army and vast expense to protect the exposed settlements and routes of travel.

I have no hesitancy in expressing my convictions (as I did to the Commission at its last meeting), that the present conflict grew out of a delay in carrying out a treaty agreement with the Cheyenne Indians: could easily have been avoided, is unnecessary and dishonorable to all connected with it. Moreover that it was not only for the interest of the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arrapahoes, under the then existing circumstances, to make war, but an absolute necessity with them, as their only means of a self-preservation and safety. I am firmly of opinion now, as at the time of adjournment, that the Peace Commissioners committed a fatal error in adjourning *sine die* without another effort for peace—but that has passed, and it only remains to consider the present state of Indian affairs, and, if possible, secure such action as may be necessary to ward off the Indian war that now threatens the country. If the commission of a crime by two Cheyenne Indians, or 200 Cheyennes, as some assert—a crime which the Indians themselves condemned, and were ready to punish the perpetrators—should, through the stupid and criminal blundering of military officers, culminate in the confederation of five powerful tribes in war, what must be the result of an attack upon a small detached camp of men, women, and children, who were evidently moving South to their reservation in order to avoid contact with the troops—an attack that notified the Indians of a determination on the part of the army to exterminate them?

I have been among these same Indians frequently since 1861. At that time I was ordered in command of troops to Fort Wise, since called Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory. The agency of all the tribes now at war, have had much to do with them. I know, and every one knows, that has any personal experience with, and knowledge of these Indians, that they will keep the peace if they can; that they were never the first to go to war, and were never the first to violate the terms of their treaties. Making no concession to the clamor raised against the Indian, no compromises with the conspiracy that contemplates the commission of an infamous crime in the destruction of that unfortunate people, merely for speculative and political ends, I assert that they appreciate and will imitate honorable warfare. We complain of their atrocities (which cannot be justified or even excused), forgetting that our own people have for generations and for centuries committed as cruel and disgusting barbarities upon the Indians, giving them as the weaker party, the advantage of a plea of doing all they do only in retaliation. We repeat the fatal error of underrating the capacity of the Indians for a protracted and successful guerrilla warfare, and persist in pursuing and punishing the innocent instead of the guilty, more intent on attacking the villages containing the women and children, than the active war parties, which of course is considered by the Indians not a war against a single tribe, in punishment for real or fancied outrages, but a war for the extermination of their race. Can they by any known process of reasoning come to any other conclusion from what has happened to them during the last few years? Can they from the treatment of their ancestors for the last 300 years? The Cheyennes cannot forget the assassination and mutilation of 120 of their own women and children at Sand Creek in 1864 while in the employ and under the protection of the Government; they cannot fail to remember their acceptance of an invitation in the spring of 1867 to come into Fort Larned, Kansas, with their families, to confer with a prominent officer of the army, and the advantage taken of their confidence to destroy their village and force them to war. The other tribes are not so stupid as not to understand all these things, to comprehend their intent, and apprehend their import. To them it is a proclamation of a determination on the part of the whites to exterminate them all—men, women, and children. I will not insult the intelligence of any man by asking what he would do under like circumstances. We all know what he should do, and the Indian is not wanting in courage, manly spirit, and common sense.

The practice of holding an entire race responsible for the alleged criminal acts of a few, must be speedily abandoned, or an alarming state of war will continue to exist on the Western border, involving the deaths of hundreds, if not thousands of enterprising, industrious, and deserving pioneers, who have settled there in fancied security, depending upon their government for peace and safety. Yet they find proceedings tolerated that expose them to the greatest peril, for it is the policy of the Indians in war, to strike their enemy at the weakest point. The border settlers deserve better treatment, and should not be sacrificed to a spirit of aggression on the part of some, and a desire on the part of many to make money—men ever ready (and too often successful) to provoke an Indian war, merely to gratify their ruling passion.

During the summer of 1865, after the Sand Creek massacre, and during the continuance of a war that followed as a consequence of that cowardly and infamous atrocity, Congress saw the necessity of a radical change in the administration of Indian affairs, and delegated a committee of their own members—including the then President *pro tem* of the Senate—to proceed at once to the Indian country, ascertain the cause of troubles, and suggest a remedy. These distinguished gentlemen faithfully performed the work assigned them, reported as the cause of Indian wars the fact that the Indian was an outlaw, and the remedy a very simple one, viz., the extension of the law over the Indian country. To secure this, they prepared an act which passed the Senate by a considerable majority, but it was afterward defeated in the House. This Committee had no difficulty in conferring with the then hostile tribes. The Cheyennes heard of their coming and stood ready to meet, and did meet them in council, when an agreement of peace was made and faithfully adhered to by the Indians, until the burning of their village two years after.

In 1867 war again existed on the Plains, attended with a fearful loss of life, a serious interference with settlement and travel, and an immence expense of treasure. The Indian Peace Commission was created by act of Congress, approved by the President on the 20th of July. This Commission was sent out to meet the hostile Indians, which was easily done. Council with them was held, hostilities on their part stayed, and terms of settlement agreed upon. After which the Commission reported to Congress not only the causes of Indian wars, but suggested the remedy: The ban of outlawry must be removed from the Indian, the protection of laws extended over him, civilization, education, liberty, and a permanent home guaranteed to him and his forever. Unfortunately for the country and the peace of the Plains, these recommendations have not yet been acted upon.

Both the Congressional Committee and the Indian Peace Commission have accumulated a mass of evidence in reference to the more recent outbreaks, and in every case the fault was with the whites instead of the Indians. Consequently the latter cannot justly be censured for their resistance. Certainly not, if we concede to them the common rights of humanity—that of self-preservation. The Commissioners, and all who will carefully examine the record, must of necessity concede that the Indian is no obstacle in the way of a permanent and honorable peace. Peace can be made and retained at any time, when, as a condition, justice, protection, and good faith can be promised and guaranteed. Until that is done we can expect nothing but war, massacre, and destruction of property.

I would suggest that you call the attention of the President and Secretary of the Interior to this subject, and urge the immediate and unconditional abandment of the present war policy, the disbandment of all the volunteers now in the Indian country waging war, the control of the army as a national police force, to preserve peace on the plains protecting without partiality, all parties, both white men and Indians. Restrain the officers from proclaiming war against any of the tribes. Then send your agents to bring in the Indians to their reservations, there protect them from attack and outrage and secure the just fulfillment of all treaties with them. When that is done, there will be no trouble to induce the Indians themselves to arrest, try, and punish, those of their own number who deserve punishment. Of course this can only be done upon a good and sufficient guarantee, one which the Indians themselves will be satisfied with, as efficient and permanent.

Failing to accomplish this, insist that if war is to be carried on, it shall at least be in accordance with the rules of civilized nations, so far as to respect and protect prisoners and non-combatants, care of the sick and wounded, burial of the dead, and a due regard for flags of truce, which is not now done, whatever may be asserted to the contrary, I am confident the Indians will go as far in the performance of these observances as the whites.

It will be necessary to urge upon Congress the necessity of speedy legislation, to extend the protection and penalties of the civil law over the Indian country—as recommended not only by a committee of their own members, and the Peace Commission, but the early Presidents, commencing with Washington. They should set apart and dedicate forever to the exclusive use, occupation, benefit, and ownership of the Indians, five territorial reservations, under a separate and a distinct form of government, one south of the State of Kansas, one north of the State of Nebraska, as advised by the Peace Commission in their report of January last, one in the mountains from a portion of the territories of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, as recommended by the same Commission in the proceedings of their last meeting in Chicago, on the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains. Within these Territories, all of the Indians can be collected, and steps taken for their civilization, prosperity, happiness, and ultimately citizenship of the Republic, with all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of other citizens. Every sentiment of national honor, justice, humanity, peace, and public safety dictates such a course as the only true solution of the Indian question.

It is not necessary that I should say anything to you in answer to the oft repeated assertion that the efforts of the Indian Peace Commission have proved a failure, for you know that as far as the Commission is itself concerned, its missions and its labors have been preëminently successful, for wherever the Commission has been enabled to carry out its plans and fulfill its promises, its efforts for peace and settlement of these Indian troubles have succeeded, and that none of the Indians have disappointed them. Unfortunately the delay at Congress in making its appropriations, and the haste of some of the military officers of the Indian country, has involved the army in a war with the Indians who met the Commission in council at Medicine Lodge Creek last year. These same Indians remained at peace nearly a year, and then were compelled to go to war in self-preservation. The Indians and Peace Commission met during the present year, the different tribes and bands of the Sioux nation, the Navajoes, the Crows, the Snakes, and those with whom Superintendent Cullen treated, numbering in the aggregate from 75,000 to 100,000 are at peace, and carrying out the plans and purposes of the Peace Commission. This has been accomplished simply for the reason that the Commission were enabled within a few months to carry out in a measure their part of the contract: this fact should be clearly presented as evidence of the capacity of the Peace Commission to accomplish what they have undertaken. Also explain the reason of an adjournment *sine die*, instead of making another effort for peace—which, (as given to me) was on account of their inability for the want of means, to do what had been promised the five or six thousand Souther Indians, now on the war-path, and urge on Congress the necessity of providing them in order to secure peace.

I believe it possible for the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Apaches, now on the war-path, to form combinations with other tribes, so as to be able to put from 15,000 to 20,000 warriors in the field against the Army of the United States. Therefore, every consideration of patriotism, public safety, and prudence demands immediate and decisive action upon this subject.

I append as a part of this communication a copy of a letter from Col. Edward W. Wynkoop, Agent to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, upon the subject of the present conflict, received by me while in Chicago, and there laid before the Indian Peace Commission. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. F. TAPPAN,
Indian Peace Commissioner.

WASHINGTON, D. C., DEC. 9, 1868.

COL. WYNKOOP'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCT. 5, 1868.

COL. S. F. TAPPAN—*Dear Sir:* I am in receipt of your communication of Sunday, and regret that it is impossible for me to furnish you with the details you require, for the reason that I have not my letter-book with me. My opinion is, in regard to the present Indian war, that the same could have been prevented had the Government continued to keep up the supply of subsistence that had been furnished to them during the spring and early summer. They had gradually got weaned from their old habits to that extent that they depended upon the provisions which I issued to them, and consequently it was not necessary for them to scatter out in little bands all over the country for the purpose of finding game, thereby running risks of coming in contact with white men, and also being subjected to temptations when hungry; but soon after the supplies were stopped. Had I been allowed to issue the arms and ammunition to them at the time promised, they still would have been contented, from the fact of their having the means to procure game. But the failure of the Government to fulfil its promise in the latter respect naturally incensed some of the wilder spirits among them, and consequently the outrages committed upon the Saline. Immediately upon hearing of the said outrages, I, anxious to have the guilty punished, and by that means save those of the different tribes who did not deserve punishment, saw two of the chiefs of the Cheyennes, viz., "Medicine Arrows" and "Little Rock," and demanded that they deliver up the perpetrators of the afore-mentioned outrages, which they promised positively should be done; but before sufficient time had elapsed for them to fulfil their promises, the troops were in the field and the Indians in flight. The Kiowa and Comanche Indians, up to the present, have been at peace; but I have no doubt they will soon join the Cheyennes and thus create a general Indian war. My reasons for believing that the Kiowas and Comanches will, this late in the season, engage in this struggle are, that I do not see how they can possibly do otherwise, in consequence of their having been instructed some months since to assemble on the Arkansas for the purpose of waiting to see their agent and receive their annuities. They have been waiting for months in a state of destitution, and no agent or goods had made their appearance up to the latter part of last month; they are then told, without seeing their agent or receiving their goods, to leave and go South immediately; to travel right through the country where there are troops in pursuit of hostile Indians, and with whom it would be impossible to tell a Kiowa from a Cheyenne. The consequence will be that all the tribes of the Upper Arkansas will, before long, be engaged in hostilities.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, your obedient servant,

E. W. WYNKOOP,
"United States Indian Agent."

COL TAPPAN said that no attention was paid to this letter, the authorities in Washington seemed to think that the Indians would quietly and tamely submit to the assassination of their men, women and children of the Wichata. He knew them better, and had no doubt of their uniting against us in war. There can certainly be no doubt now upon this subject. It is written in the fires of a blazing frontier and the blood of many of our people slain. What was laughed at then, is now fully credited. It is a misfortune that so many of our countrymen considered the Indians fools and cowards, but we learn to the contrary by a bloody experience, and when we have learned it, justice will be done and further wars with the Indian race averted,

The speaker continued, we had never been able to successfully cope with a few hundred Indian warriors; now they were gathering by tens of thousands, and would astonish the world by the facility with which they would defeat our troops and hold out against the entire military power of the country. They had an immense range of territory, knew it perfectly, and with their system of guerilla warfare would prove themselves a most destructive, formidable and successful opponent.

The American Congress deserved the severe condemnation of the people for its neglect and persistent refusal to heed the recommendations of its own commissions; to extend the civil law, our only ruler and peacemaker, over the Indian country and remove the terrible and dangerous law of outlawry under which (unfortunately for us as well as for them) the Indians existed.

The cause of the war was on account of the refusal of the legislative department of the government to act upon this subject, and the criminal stupidity of some of our military officers—and upon them will rest the fearful consequences, whatever they may be.

Congress had attempted to shirk the responsibility, by throwing it upon the President, who was left powerless to secure a just and permanent settlement of our Indian troubles—and however well disposed he may be, he will fail. It is a subject of congratulation that the chief Executive—our leader in war, had adapted pacific measures towards the Indians—and if maintained by proper legislative action, he would be preëminently successful, and further wars with our wards would be an impossibility.

Col. Tappan referred briefly to our past Indian wars, the loss of life and treasure in consequence, and stated that the world would exonerate the Indians from all criminality in the matter, they acting in self defense. He suggested a national organization, whose objects be the removal of the ban of outlawry from the Indians, making them citizens of the United States, protected by and amenable to its laws. To prevent the Government from waging wars against its wards and dependents. To promote their advancement in the useful arts, pursuits and education of civilization, and so far influence the government and public opinion as to create a wholesome and humane sentiment concerning their rights and privileges.

To publish and circulate the best information from official and other sources concerning the condition and interests of the unfortunately proscribed Indian race.

Also to organize similar associations throughout the country, to agitate this question and secure a better sentiment towards the Indians, which more than anything else would influence Congress to act. The passage of a bill to create a department of Indian affairs, introduced in the Senate by Hon. Mr. Pomeroy, of Kansas, or a bill introduced in the House by Hon. Mr. Julian of Indiana, creating a Department of Home Affairs, having charge of the Indians, Freedmen, Immigrants, Immigration, Agriculture and abandoned Lands of the South, would secure the result we all so much desire, and in his opinion the President should convene Congress in special session immediately to legislate upon this important matter.

All that is necessary to secure a permanent and honorable peace with the now roving and warlike tribes is to do by them as was done by the Cherokees, Seminoles and others now residing in the Indian Territory, south of Kansas. These Indians have demonstrated their desire and capacity for civilization in many ways, and in their settlement of the Freedmen question they proved themselves statesmen and philanthropists of a high order. At the close of the war, Gen. John B. Sanborn, of Minnesota, since a member of the Indian Peace Commission, was sent among the South-western Indians, to notify them that slavery had been abolished, and they must release all claim they assumed to have over some four thousand blacks they had for years, in imitation of the whites held as slaves. The Cherokees and other Indians immediately accepted "the situation," acknowledged their late bondmen as free, adopted them into their tribes with an equal share in the government annuities and the reservation. A tract of land was set apart for them, upon which they have since resided in prosperity and happiness, educating their children, assisted in so doing by their late Indian masters. Our people might with honor and profit imitate the Indians in the settlement of the much vexed question of the Freedmen.

Col. Tappan then submitted the following as an address to the American people upon the subject of our Indian affairs, and suggested its adoption. It was read and referred to a committee for its action:

AN ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

The past wrongs, present grievances and future prospects of the Indian Tribes of America, can not fail to awaken the deepest interest in the minds of all true patriots.

The devastating and relentless wars that have been waged against these people from the very beginning, under a mistaken policy, by the Government and now threatens the entire annihilation of the race, if not speedily arrested, will entail upon the nation a fearful crime and an enormous expenditure of life and treasure. The cause of all difficulties in the past between the national forces and the Indians is unquestionably the ban of outlawry which rests upon them. The official reports of every Commission appointed by the government prove this. And to this is added the testimony of the Christian missionaries and philanthropists that have been among them. In order to remove this and place the Indians in a position where they may try fairly the plan of civilization, it is necessary that a correct public sentiment, proper legislation, and faithful execution of laws should exist. The first duty is with Congress. This association would insist upon a fair, impartial and just code of laws for the government of those tribes now at peace, and the fulfillment of all former treaties and the adoption of a wise system of settlement with the tribes now at war. Official reports prove that heretofore our own people have been the agressors, and the Indians have not been at fault in every war which has existed between the nation and the different tribes. Upon this point the Indian Peace Commission, say in their report of the 7th of January 1868: "But, it is said our wars with them have been almost constant. Have we been uniformly unjust? We answer, unhesitatingly, Yes."

It is but just that those who are in fault should first seek to amend the wrongs they have committed, and propose peaceful measures of adjusting existing difficulties.

The Indians have never desired to leave the homes of their fathers, and had the policy of Penn and Washington been adopted by their successors, the arms of the government might have enclosed this people, and they would have been useful, law-abiding and productive citizens: instead of that the nation has expended hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of valuable lives, and has never gained an essential victory; but has driven this race step by step beyond the pale of law—government and Christianity, and even now must retain possession of territory acquired by fraud through a continued series of wrongs, outrages and assassinations.

That this was not intentional; a wrong wilfully perpetrated by the Government is believed; but that it is the result of a mistaken policy once commenced and persevered in through a long series of years, until there seems no way of retracing the steps already taken: while persons in high official, military, and other positions, regard this course of unjust extermination, as the only method of dealing with a subject that simply requires humanity and justice in its treatment.

That it is not possible, at least for many centuries, to successfully wage war against and finally exterminate the Indians, is evident from the history of past conflicts with them. An instance to illustrate. The Seminole war lasted seven years, in which the regular army, several thousand volunteers and the navy were engaged against a few hundred warriors on the pent up Peninsula of Florida, attended with a cost on our part of fifteen hundred lives and nearly a hundred millions of dollars,—was finally terminated by a gross and cowardly violation of a flag of truce, and the promise of a permanent home elsewhere. It is believed the Indians would have more readily accepted the latter proposal before, than after, the first gun had been discharged, had an opportunity been given them. Even now in the everglades of Florida the remnants of that tribe remain, asserting that they have never been vanquished, and they never have. The Black Hawk war furnishes an example of a conflict attended with a considerable loss of life and millions of treasure, while officers actively engaged, now living, do not know the cause of it, and volunteered just previous to the commencement of hostilities, to bring all the Indians on to Washington, to answer any charges alleged against them, which was not permitted.

The more recent wars, with the Sioux, Navajoes Cheyennes and other tribes, costing hundreds of lives of our own people and nearly two hundred millions of dollars; conflicts in which our flag was disgraced and our country dishonored,—official reports made to the government, exonerate the Indians from all criminality for the part they took in them, it being proven that the fault was not theirs, and that they only acted in self defense.

The Indians to-day are far removed from the protection of the civil law, either of the States, territories, or the general Government. Existing in a range of country where they have perfect knowledge of every foot of the soil, unlimited resources and strength, and the advantage which a unity of purpose gives, they were never in a better condition to successfully defend themselves against any aggression, or indeed to become the aggressors in retaliation for past wrongs.

That they can never be vanquished or exterminated is evident, and it becomes a question not only of humanity but of national policy, whether the government will continue a course which has been so dishonorable and disastrous to itself in the past.

Nor are the Indians as a race objects of pity or commiseration, but rather of envy. They have the advantage of being in the right, and we of being the criminals. It is to arrest this crime and to prevent the government from adding another to the series of chapters that have blotted its history, marring the beautiful fabric which was designed in its foundation, that this protest is made.

It is evident that in the mode of warfare between the Indians and our own people, we have taught them to make war upon women and children, as it is known that in their wars with one another, the women and children are taken captives, and often treated with the greatest consideration by their captors. The Indian Peace Commission, created by an unanimous vote of Congress in July, 1867, were confronted on the plains, by an Indian chief, in behalf of those who were then at war with our government, with a proposition to exchange prisoners, he presenting six white women and children, and the Commission were compelled to acknowledge in behalf of a nation of forty millions of people, that in wars with Indians no prisoners were taken. The chief then released the captives and asked that they might be sent to their kindred. The contrast is so striking that comment is unnecessary.

These are only a few of a multitude of facts, that might be adduced to prove how mistaken has been the policy of the government in this direction. The association calls upon all citizens to coöperate with, and aid them in creating a public sentiment which shall compel Congress to accept and act upon the humane report of its own Commission, by legislating in such a manner as shall pave the way to a final and complete settlement of this question on the basis of law, equality, humanity and justice.

After which Rev. Mr. Crosby submitted a plan of a national organization, which was referred to a sub-committee and the Commission adjourned.

## *AFFAIRS IN VIRGINIA.*

HERNDON, Va., May 18th, 1869.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

THE Freedmen of Fairfax and Loudon Counties, Va., met at their South Herndon school-house and celebrated "Whitsun Monday." Their Lyceum, their Sunday School, and their daily school were all represented in this celebration. This last one mentioned has for some time been aided by "Friends" in Philadelphia. For several terms Miss Fannie E. Gause (cousin of Bayard Taylor) taught, a work efficiently preparatory for the more extended work in which she is now enlisted in Charleston, S. C. In regard to the convocation of the 17th.—ANDREW LEE was PRESIDENT. (He owns land, and has built a house, making for himself and family a comfortable home). Several colored men made speeches. Clemens said—"There must be *heart* in what we do, or all our doing will amount to nothing." Another idea he so "put" as to call forth great applause:—"We are told that all these Yankees care for us, is to get our votes to put them in office. For this purpose they meet with us, and teach us, and do a great many good things for us. Well, what of all that? They teach us, we vote for them, thus they get into office—*that* satisfies *them*. We are satisfied if we get the learning. They cannot get that away from us. If they are satisfied, and we are satisfied—both parties feel happy, who has any right to complain?" Lewis W. Coats, who learned to read while driving a government wagon, said:—"We must not work merely for ourselves. We must work for our country. It is now *our* country. *We must elevate it.* A great field is before us, let us cheerfully enter into it, trusting in God, and doing our duty." Several speakers contrasted the keeping of holidays by colored people when they were slaves, and their keeping of those days now. Formerly they were used for degradation—now for refinement. After a telling speech of this sort, full of recital of old customs, the crowd sung—"*We are rising as a people.*" The President made several pithy speeches, and in a closing one paid just tribute to their former teacher, Miss Gause, and to their present one, Miss Isadore Brinkerhoff. A white man announced, that a colored man was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and another for State Senator, and called on all voters to be ready for right action at the polls on Tuesday, July 6th. The hearty cheers gave signal that Virginia will soon be happily reconstructed.

J. R. J.

## *AFFAIRS IN MISSISSIPPI.*

ASSASSINATION OF COL. CRANE.

JACKSON, Miss, June 8th, 1869.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

COL. J. CRANE, the mayor of Jackson has just been stabbed and killed by Edward Yerger, usually called "Prince." The mayor formerly commanded one of the regiments stationed here and was a universal favorite with the soldiers as well as with all resident lovers of justice. "Prince" Yerger is too well known as a representative of one of the most prominent rebel aristocratic families in this State, to need descriptive delineation from my pen. He has been famous as a duelist, and by his wealth and presence has been considered above the law. He has refused to pay taxes for the past four years. Col. Crane acting "without respect to persons," sent the proper persons to levy on his household effects to the amount of his tax bill. His piano being the first object that attracted their attention caused the "Madame" to boil with indignation and possibly she pschycologized her husband with her rage. He came down upon State street and in several ways greatly annoyed Col. Crane personally. The mayor thrust Yerger from him. Then he (Yerger) drew from his cane his sword and stabbed Mayor Crane through his heart. He fell near the bank, his blood oozing from his side and staining Yerger's white gloves and saturating his clothing. Word was simultaneously sent to Gov. Ames, Gen. Granger, commander of the Post, and to Mrs. Crane. A squad of soldiers arrested the murderer just as he was endeavoring to escape from the back entrance of his house. The soldiers have just taken him past our gate, all bedaubed with loyal blood, to Gen. Granger's Head Quarters. E. M. Yerger passed by with the utmost *sang froid* in his gait, his countenance pale but indifferent. The prominent rebel citizens are holding a meeting in the Senate Chamber and very diplomatically expressing their regret because of the occurrence. Mrs. Crane almost paralyzed with horror rushed from her home in her morning robe and in a glance comprehended the whole scene. She threw up her hands and most touchingly appealed to our host, Rev. James Lynch one of her husband's most admiring friends who stood by her side. "God will avenge his death, Mrs. Crane," said Alderman Lynch. This reply brought forth the severe rebuke of an old Episcopal rebel clergyman. Perhaps in his distorted vision he already saw retributive vengence. Gov. Ames ordered Mr. Lynch, who has recently been appointed by Gen. Grant, Assistant Superindent of schools under the Freedmen's Bureau, to raise a force of colored men to scour the woods in case Yerger resorted to them. That precaution proved to be needless; but certainly there would have been poetic justice in having a scion of the first families in all rebeldom caught by negroes and dogs in the swamp as his ex-slaves had been.

We see an awful providence in this calamity. Every day some inoffensive negro is put out of the way in some part of this State and no action taken because of the obscurity of the victim. Several Republican politicians have disappeared very mysteriously and nothing of foul play proved. Now all this will be stopped. Again the political party in this State is divided into factions. Possibly the strongest wing is the Conservative, which so strongly advocates removing the disfranchising clause from the new Constitution. Prominent radicals here have used their influence in having the disabilities of certain rebels disposed of. Perhaps this timely exhibition of the unconquered rebel spirit which is only latent in the breasts of all these Southerners will save our State from a conservative victory (?) in the nearing election. God moves in his own way. I have written hurriedly.

Yours for equity,

EDMONIA G. HIGHGATE.

## *THE OLD ABOLITIONISTS.*

*The Beaver* (Pa) *Radical* of the 4th inst, published a very appreciative and just tribute to the "old Abolitionists" from the pen of ARTHUR B. BRADFORD. Concerning two points, formerly contested, we quote as follows:

"There were two points on which time and events have proved the abolitionists to have been both philosophers and prophets. The first was the safety of immediate emancipation. The slaveholders, feeling themselves to be guilty of a crime against human nature, were always afraid of the negroes. When night came they loaded up their guns and revolvers, and slept with one ear and one eye open, for fear of conspiracies and insurrection. When the abolitionists called upon them to break every yoke and let every oppressed man go free *immediately*, these guilty men lost their patience, and charged their reprovers with a wish to inaugurate the bloody scenes of St. Domingo all over the South. But the abolitionists replied to all this agonizing declamation, that insurrection and bloodshed could not, in the nature of the case, be the effect of emancipation, but only of continued Slavery. They argued that if you give the slaves all they ask for, which was liberty, their wives and children, and the avails of their labor, there would be no motive on their part to imbrue their hands in the blood of their benefactors—that the blacks were an amiable, long-suffering, and forgiving race, that would repay with gratitude and not with revenge, the act of justice which made them free. Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation emancipating millions in a single day did not cost a single drop of blood, but confirmed and confirms the judgment of the abolitionists that it is always safe to do right. Ireland is to day a seething cauldron and will boil harder and harder by every concession the Gladstone Government will make, until the people get back their land, plundered from them by the aristocracy. It will be, and ought to be, the same way in England and Scotland, for a Government has no more right to take the land from the people than it has the atmospheric air. Every man comes into the world with a right to as much land as is necessary to support him by proper labor, and to possess it as an instinct. This instinct is as strong in the black man as it is in the Irishman, or the Anglo-Saxon. Yet so patient is the black man that he does not demand a few acres of the confiscated lands of his late rebel master, which he has moistened with long years of his sweat, but is content to begin life in the new, and by labor and saving, to *purchase* his future home. It is estimated by those who know the South, that the savings of the blacks, in savings banks, and private hands, amount to upwards of twenty millions of dollars.

"The other point argued by the abolitionists was that emancipation would give the climatic laws of nature a chance to work, and entice all the blacks in the country to the warm regions of the South, their natural home. It was the general apprehension and argument that emancipation would deluge the North with blacks and leave the South depopulated of them. No one knows but he who was in the thirty years war, the power of this false phiosophy, so industriously used by the opponents of liberty in the North. Brainless people by the thousand, good of heart and purpose, were hallucinated with the idea that if the blacks were freed, Nancy could not go out and milk the cows in the evening without a body-guard of her brothers to protect her against lurking swarms of negroes. To answer this honest yet stupid fear, the abolitionists pointed to the greater extent and cheapness of land in the South than in the North, —to the natural law that makes migration to take place from thickly to thinly settled regions, and not from thinly to thickly. They argued that those natural laws which governed the migration of birds and beasts do govern, and will govern, the migratory movements of human beings every where, and would localize the blacks in the South instead of the cold regions of the North. The logic has been proved to be sound and these predictions have been verified."

## *"PEACE" IN LOUSIANIA.*

From the Republican Standard—Carrolton, La., June 10th.

THE gimlet knife—press destroying—bludgeon and revolver portion of the Democracy in the Parish of Avoyelles as we are informed is again on the rampage. A few days ago one of the "chivalrous sons" attacked the Assessor and Collector of the parish, a gentleman old enough to be his father and wholly unarmed, struck him in the face, and bravely drew a revolver to defend himself, at the same time a half dozen or more of the same class of would-be-cut throats, who were standing around within supporting distance drew their revolvers. The other day we published an article from the

Baton Rouge *Courier* stating that the only way to establish order and peace in the country parishes is to organize the militia. Among law abiding citizens generally this seems to be a growing belief. There appears to be no way to reach these human devils in the country parishes but by dealing out to them in such doses as the cases require the stern impartial justice of a military commission. It is a folly to talk about obtaining Justice, and punishment for crime, in the courts of many of the country parishes. It cannot be had—a few parties, unscrupulous, and fiendish in their acts, hold over the people a terror not less exacting than that of the rebel conscripting officers in the days of the Confederate rule. There must be had by some means punishments for crime. These self-appointed dictators must be taught that punishment, sharp, decisive, and certain follows their devilish wrongs and outrages. Until this is done in some way, so long will we have a condition of affairs disgraceful alike to civilization and good government.

The collector in the Parish of Avoyelles is a Republican. His enemies, persecutors and slanderers are of the Ku-Klux democracy, who will if possible make the office an intolerable source of annoyance to him, and thus compel him to resign, when a dozen or more of their clique will be after the Governor for an appointment "to fill the vacancy." He has no protection, under the existing condition he can have none. These devils are untrammelled in every particular. Respect for law, human or divine, finds no place in their hearts. This state of affairs exists in many of the parishes of this State, and we repeat will not be improved until punishment shall be dealt out promptly to offenders. We see no way to do this fully and completely except through a well organized efficient militia.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1869.


## PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We have completed arrangements which enable us to offer, as an additional premium for new subscribers, a life-like, handsomely finished, medium sized photograph of JOHN G. WHITTIER. It is of the same size, and in the same finished style, as that of Mr. Phillips, and by the same artist, Mr. Augustus Marshall, 145 Tremont street, Boston. As a photographer, Mr. Marshall is equalled by few, and surpassed by none in Boston, or elsewhere. Each photograph will be accompanied by Mr. Whittier's autograph. We doubt not that many of our readers, by whom everything from Mr. Whittier's pen is fondly treasured, will be glad to avail themselves of this favorable opportunity to obtain a recent and truthful likeness of him. It is the best we have ever seen of him, and will, we have no doubt, give excellent satisfaction to his numerous friends.

To any one who will remit to us for two new subscribers, one year, ($6), or to any old subscriber, remitting also for one new subscriber ($6), we will send post paid a copy of the excellent photograph of Mr. Whittier.

To any one remitting for three new subscribers, ($9), or renewing, and remitting for two new subscribers ($9), we will send one copy of the photograph of John G. Whittier, and one of Wendell Phillips.

## THE NEW SOUTH.

BEFORE the war "the South," politically, meant the oligarchy of two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders. The slaves and the non-slaveholding whites were a political nonenity. Not only did the old South rule vigorously its own geographical section, in the interest of slavery, but its sway was well nigh omnipotent, until within a few years, throughout the North. The slaveholders, insecure in their position, risked all in the war, to make perpetual their hold; and lost.

The period of military domination, as in Georgia, Texas and elsewhere, still continues. It is still a transition period. When "reconstruction" shall have done its perfect work, and the military be withdrawn, it will be a new South which the nation will henceforward recognize. It will be a South in which the colored people will of themselves in some localities be a voting majority, instead of a political nonentity as formerly. In others, with the radical loyal whites, they will hold the political balance of power. Indeed, evenly as parties are now divided in the North, it needs but the final ratification of the pending Fifteenth Amendment, to assure to the uncompromising radicals, colored and white in alliance, the balance of power in national affairs.

We desire and expect to see the governments and institutions of the Southern States transformed, as they should be, completely in the likeness of freedom. The time has come for the colored people and their trustworthy white allies throughout those States to take the management of affairs as fully as possible into their own hands. We urged before the last nominations were made that a competent colored man should be put upon the Republican ticket as a candidate for Vice-President. We think it was a mistake that Mr. Harris, an able colored man was not sent, as he easily might have been, an Representative or Senator to Washington from North Carolina. We are sure it was a blunder on the part of the colored Republicans of Georgia that they did not elect all they could, and they might have had a majority, of their own number, to the Georgia Legislature. Not a few Northern "carpet-baggers," trusted by the colored people, have already proved themselves to be unreliable, and yet others, who have been relied upon, will doubtless fail under some temptation, which the diplomatists of the old ruling white class know so well how to ply. From this time forward the colored and white Radicals should elect to office the largest possible number of those strictly identified in interest and sympathy with themselves. Whenever it is possible, send competent colored members to the State Legislatures and as Representatives and Senators to Washington. Defer no longer to such advice as was last year given by Senator Wilson and others to withhold colored candidates out of deference to Northern prejudice. For the sake of the cause in the North, give us the greatest possible number of colored officials. Their presence here,—as in the case of Gov. Dunn of Lousiana—works miracles, even to unlocking the doors of first-class hotels to colored people!

Additional responsibility devolves upon the State Legislatures of the South from the failure by Congress to adopt, as urged in these colums, and as was wisely recommended by Thaddeus Stevens and others, a mild plan of confiscation. Such confiscation of forfeited rebel lands would have divided many of the large landed estates which are now, through Johnson's treachery, in the hands of the enemies of real progress, and given the freed people and the landless loyal whites, at nominal rates, available homesteads of their own. The same result can now in part, be brought about through State legislation. By virtue of past years of unrequited toil, the colored people of the South have at any rate vested rights in its lands sufficient to entitle them to the fullest possible opportunities for education for their children. They should therefore secure, as fully as may be, the control of the State Legislatures, and make liberal provision for public educational interests, and for all internal improvements which will inure to their benefit. They should do this by taxation, of the landed and other property of the States. Enterprising, business men can afford to pay, and in turn will be benefited by such taxation. The still rebellious drones who hold, by Johnson's treachery, and the mistaken leniency of Congress, the large old slave plantations, too poor, or inefficient, under the new order of things to pay the taxes, will have to surrender their estates for public sale. Thus will come an opportunity for small purchases and the introduction of the Northern system of rural industry and thrift. The ballot will then become, what it is not there now, truly free. Welcome the New South!

## DEATH OF MR. RAYMOND.

THE death of HENRY J. RAYMOND, editor of *The New York Times*, at his residence in this city, on the 17th inst, occasioned by apoplexy, is another striking illustration of the uncertain tenure of life, and of the suddenness with which a busy, responsible career may be terminated. Mr. Raymond was an able journalist. His death makes a vacancy in that department which it will be most difficult to fill. In his political career there is little we can speak of with praise. Occasionally he wrote earnestly in support of upright men and just measures. His general tendency was to support a semi-conservative, half-way, go-between policy. A most unhappy instance of this kind, very damaging to his reputation, was his part in the Johnson-Seward Philadelphia Convention movement. He realized however the force of radical, positive, uncompromising principles, and usually yielded his support to measures which they inspired, after the first stage of the discussion which such measures provoke had passed and their ultimate triumph became to him apparent. With a keen intellect, with remarkable executive ability, with untiring industry, and a genial, kindly disposition, he required, for true greatness, more faith in the fundamental principles of right and justice for their own sake. What was his fault is the fault of the political school in which he received his education, whereof Henry Clay, Seward, and Thurlow Weed were conspicuous teachers. The events of the last few years have abundantly demonstrated the limitations of their wisdom.

## PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

Though chattel slavery has been abolished, the proscriptive and unchristian prejudice against colored people, which it created and fostered, still lives. Colored men and women are subjected to many inconveniences and annoyances, especially in travelling and seeking hotel entertainment. The following resolution of censure adopted by the New York Conference recently in session in this city will explain itself:

The Rev. W. T. Catto offered the following resolution:

*Whereas*, The Rt. Rev. J. P. Campbell, one of the Bishops of the A. M. E. Church, in the United States of America, and the Rev. Elisha Weaver, Ex-Editor of the *Christian Recorder*, the organ of the A. M. E. Church; and the Rev. W. T. Catto, one of the ministers of said Church, stationed at Orange, N. J., made application at Albany, on board of the steamer St. John, of the People's line, plying between Albany and New York; on Wednesday, the 26th day of May, 1869, for state rooms, and were refused on account of being colored men. Therefore be it,

*Resolved*, As the emphatic decision of the New York Conference, (now in session in the Sullivan street A. M. E. Church, New York City); that such proscription on account of color, is unwarranted by any law or rule of *Decency* or sound morality; and unwarranted by any law of justice or of right, and contrary to the spirit of the times; but the relic of a cringing excrescence of slavery; and deserves the disapprobation of every just, honorable and liberty loving American citizen, and we do recommend to our people to *mark such proscription from whatever quarter it may show itself and govern themselves accordingly.*

This preamble and resolution was discussed and unanimously adopted; and, it was further,

*Resolved*, That the preamble and resolution offered by the Rev. W. T. Catto in relation to the insult given to Bishop Campbell and other brethren on board the St. John steamer, plying between Albany and New York be published; that a copy of the same be sent to the *Christian Recorder*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Independent* and the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; and that Rev. Leonard Patterson be empowered to furnish them a copy of the same.

It is time such invidious and disgraceful conduct towards worthy and respectable colored passengers, as in the case of the officers of the *St. John*, should cease. With colored men as Foreign Ministers to represent the American nation abroad, it is indeed a pity if they and other colored men and women, simply on account of color, cannot have by paying for them, like other passengers, state-rooms on board a Hudson River steamer!

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WE are glad to be able to add FLORIDA to the list of States which have ratified the Fifteenth Amendment.

The American Institute of Homeopathy, at a convention held in Boston recently, voted by a decided majority to admit properly qualified women to all its privileges as members.

Mr. Douglass is likely to be sustained in his position as a printer by the Washington Printers' Union. Two or three white printers have suffered so much from disgust as to resign their places.

It was settled (for the present) by the Literary Society of the Young Men's Christian Association of this City on Monday evening last that "the right of Suffrage" should *not* "be extended to the women of the United States."

We invite attention to the chapter on the "Wrongs of the Chinese" which we print this week from Mr. Brace's new book of his California travels. The old problem of the Anti-Slavery movement it will be seen presents itself in a new form in California, involving, instead of the negroes, the Chinese.

*The New York Herald*, in an article on the Fifteenth Amendment, anticipates that in December next impartial suffrage for colored men will be proclaimed as the law of the nation, the Amendment having been ratified by the requisite number of States, and that henceforward politicians will have to include in their calculations the negro vote.

The Bricklayers' Union of Washington have expelled from that association six men who refused to stop work at the navy yard, in that city, because two colored men were employed therein on an equal footing with the whites. One of the six, Thomas Mahoney, writes a manly protest against the proscriptive action of the Union, which we shall print next week.

The Medical Society of Washington it seems has has not yet been "reconstructed." It refuses admission and membership to Dr. Charles B. Purvis, and Dr. Augusta, regularly liscensed physicians, simply on the ground of complexional difference. Its doors will have to swing wide open sooner or later—the sooner the more creditable to the members of the Society.

After all the noise made by *The World*, *Express*, and other copperhead journals about the rioting and loss of life at the recent Washington election, it turns out, as we supposed would be the case, that nobody was killed or seriously injured. The colored man, Wm. Smith, shot by the police during the election disturbance did not die, as reported, but is, we understand, alive and recovering. It is only among the constituents and followers of these negro-hating journals that there is the peculiar genius requisite for a "first-class" riot, with hangings, burnings, and the like.

## THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

WE are glad to be able to add FLORIDA to the number of States which have ratified the Amendment.

The list, we believe, is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| MISSOURI, | March 1, 1869. (Defective).* |
| KANSAS, | February 27th, |
| NORTH CAROLINA, | March 5, 1869. |
| WEST VIRGINIA, | " 3, " |
| MASSACHUSETTS, | " 9-12 " |
| WISCONSIN, | " 9, " |
| MAINE, | " 12, " |
| LOUISIANA, | " 5, " |
| MICHIGAN, | " 8, " |
| SOUTH CAROLINA, | " 16, " |
| PENNSYLVANIA, | " 26, " |
| NEW YORK, | April 14, " |
| ALABAMA, | |
| FLORIDA, | |
| ILLINOIS, | |
| MINNESOTA, | |
| IOWA, | |
| NEBRASKA, | |
| ARKANSAS, | |
| NEVADA, | |
| CONNECTICUT, | |
| INDIANA, | |
| FLORIDA, | |
| RHODE ISLAND—SENATE. | |

The Amendment has been rejected by DELAWARE.

Georgia, not competent, until "reconstructed" again, to either ratify or to reject the Amendment, has gone through the form of rejecting it.

*Missouri failed to act upon the second section.
—†Kansas the second section was imperfect when ratified.

## PERSONAL.

GEN. LEE has had a house built for him by public subscription at Lexington, Va.

Petroleum V. Nasby is said to have gained $30,000 during the past year by his lecture.

Andrew Jackson Davis and Miss Nellie Brittan addressed the annual picnic of the Children's Progressive Lyceum at Elm Park on Saturday last.

Miss Ida Lewis, The Newport heroine, has been presented with a purse of $218 by the officers and soldiers of Fort Adams, in appreciation of her services in saving the lives of Sergeant Adams and private McLaughlin, on the 29th of last March.

A colored gentleman—Major Morris Chester, aide-de-camp of the President of the negro Republic of Liberia, and who fought in our recent war, on the side of the Union, at the head of a black regiment—was the guest, a few weeks ago, of the Democratic Union of Frankfort, Germany, which contains among its members the chief political notabilities of the town. Major Chester had been introduced to them by a letter of Karl Blind, and was received with all honors. The "black guest," as he is called, made a speech in English, on the state of civization in Liberia, and its capital, Monrovia, in special, which afterwards was interpreted by Mr. Sonnemann and greeted with prolonged applause. At the conclusion of the speech the meeting voted its thanks to Major Chester.

## Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, June 21st, 1869.

THERE are few subjects so much talked about and so little understood as that of human liberty. It may be questioned whether any one clearly apprehends and fully receives into his soul the true doctrine of man's freedom, religious, political and social; or clearly perceives and defines the limit beyond which governments trench on the rights of the individual. The human race seems like a child groping in the dark, who occasionally stumbles into a path, the vista of which promises to lead into the light of day, and soon is lost again in darkness. Books enough have been written, blood enough has been shed, if that were all that is necessary to evolve and establish the truth on this subject. And immense progress has been made in the course of a few centuries, sometimes manifested by great leaps, though produced by slow growth. Yet how often has the world witnessed the sad spectacle of men who, clearer-eyed, stronger-hearted than their fellows, have, by stern conflict and untold suffering, won freedom for themselves, soon changing sides in the contest, and trampling on the freedom of others; and while thus imitating the tyranny from which they have escaped, actually believing that they are "doing God service!"

Perhaps the main reason why this great problem is still unsolved, is that it is very difficult for any man to fully believe and constantly feel that every other man has the same rights as himself. It is easy enough to write this in a religious or political creed; easy enough to say it; but how many persons prove by their daily actions that they really believe it. What one really believes, he *lives*. Much that he receives and assents to, unquestioning, he may not *believe*. It is a very difficult and, consequently, a very rare thing, for a man to believe that his neighbor has exactly the same right to hold his political or religious faith, to worship with his chosen ritual, to judge of the truth or falsehood of social theories, that he himself has. A careful observer sees frequent evidence of this prevailing disbelief in the equal rights of all men; and occasionally unusually startling evidence is flashed upon the most unobservant. This city has recently seen a specimen of it. A number of men, more or less prominent in two or three of the large religious sects, here, have held a public meeting, and advocated quite earnestly their plan for what they call an *amendment* of our Federal Constitution. They propose to insert therein "a recognition of Almighty God and the Christian religion." They are intelligent men, (some of them at least) yet they told the public that they did not intend to inaugurate "a union of Church and State." I should like to ask them one question: "Do you really wish to disfranchise your fellow-citizens who are Jews, or Gentile unbelievers in the Christian religion?" If they should answer that they do not, they would prove themselves very ignorant of the meaning and force of their own proposed Amendment. If they should confess that they do, they would prove themselves false to the principles of religious liberty on which our National and State governments are founded. Such infidelity to those principles may be the fault of head or heart; but however that may be, it does not effect the dangerous character of their proposition. The fact probably is that some of these men understand the whole scope and drift of their movement, and wish to make adhesion to "the Christian religion," a condition of voting and office-holding, as their "amendment" inevitably does make it; and others among them, caught by the religious sound of the phraseology, did not stop to examine the real nature and inevitable results of the enterprise which they were asked to promote. The former of these would bide their time, for the decision of the important question. "What is the Christian religion?" It would be time enough to set the country on fire with that controversy, when they should have hoodwinked the people into binding their religious liberty by the adoption of this Amendment.

This effort, impotent as it may be, regarded with indifference as it may be by the public, serves to show the willingness or the ignorance with which men trample on one another's rights. Chiefly, let us trust, through ignorance. But how comes such ignorance, except through a criminal lack of sensitiveness to another's rights. Among the ministers and laymen who signed that Call, there surely must be *some* who would *honestly* say, "God forbid that I should take away my neighbor's freedom of conscience! God forbid that I should persecute a man on account of his religion or want of religion!" Yet in their blindness they proposed to do these things. Let them open their eyes to the character of their Amendment, by substituting for the word "Christian," the name of some form of religion which they do not profess; and see how eloquent they will become in the defence of freedom of conscience, and how boldly they will rebuke those who dare to infringe upon the sacredness of religious liberty. It all comes from the sad fact, which I have stated, that men usually do not *so* believe that their neighbor's rights are the same as their own, that they are equally quick to see any infringement of one as the other. Undoubtedly among these are some who do not profess to believe this, and cannot be convicted of inconsistency, though they convict themselves of something worse. But of our citizens who do profess it, and who really wish to respect the rights of others, how many have given a thoughtless assent to this arrogant claim of religious bigotry? I have heard such assent from persons of various sects, some of whom repudiated it as soon as its meaning was clearly understood by them.

Among the signatures to this Call, were the names of two men whom the memory of Roger Williams should have inspired with a higher appreciation of religious liberty. If there is a nation on the face of the earth which might be expected to approach to the full comprehension of such liberty, it is surely ours, founded by persecuted Puritan, Huguenot and Quaker fleeing from governments, which prescribed religion by law. The limits beyond which government may not pass, without trenching on the rights and responsibilities of individuals, are not so plain that "a way faring man, though a fool, need not err therein;" but they are plain enough to be discerned by honest minds and hearts who are willing to apply the Golden Rule, and who desire that all men should be protected in the enjoyment of their right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, *more* than they desire the increase of their own peculiar sect.

M. G.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 20th, 1869.

YOU may perhaps have heard of a series of musical performances given here last week, called by some the National Peace Jubilee, and by others the Grand Musical Festival. Grand it certainly was, alike in conception and execution; several elements combined to give it a claim to the epithet National; and it has now proved itself a complete success, musically and financially, though we must wait longer for evidence of that influence in the direction of pacification and National Union which its ardent projector imagined.

Mr. Patrick S. Gilmore, who has spent about half his life of forty years in this country, has been long distinguished as a publisher and composer of military music, then as the master and leader of one of our best bands, and for some years past as the successful organizer of great musical enterprises. The chief of these before the present one, was his arrangement of a grand musical festival at New Orleans, in 1864, on the inauguration of Michael Hahn as the first Free State Governor of Louisiana. On that occasion several hundred musical performers were united as one band, leading a chorus of six thousand children. It was thought that 30,000 persons attended this celebration.

Two years ago, Mr. Gilmore conceived the idea of the immense undertaking which has just been successfully completed, and he has ever since had it in his mind, though only during the last quarter of that time has he succeeded in obtaining substantial coöperation. His first idea was to have a chorus of 20,000 and an orchestra of 1,000, giving concerts in a substantial building of adequate size. By working with amazing perseverance against all sorts of discouragement, he succeeded, about the close of 1868, in inspiring with confidence those members of musicial and financial circles whose aid was essential to the realization of his plan, and then began the coöperative work of other people.

When the details of the projected edifice came to be looked into, it was found that seats for 21,000 musicians would hardly leave room, in any feasible building, for an equal number of auditors. Then the difficulties of drilling such a number would be immense. So the projected chorus was cut down to 10,000; and seats for these, and for the 1,000 players of the orchestra, occupied about two-fifths of the actual building, which is said to cover two-and-a-half acres of ground, and which can contain, in all, from 35,000 to 40,000 people.

This immense building, now called the Coliseum, 500 feet long and 300 wide, was finished in two-and-a-half months from its commencement. But the accomplishment of this required active work day and night, to effect which 2,400 gas-burners were put into the structure. Even with this aid, so much was to be done that the workmen could be withdrawn in time to allow of only one full rehearsal in the building before the first concert. The previous rehearsals had to be managed in separate divisions and in different places, the largest of which, the Music Hall, would hold only a quarter of the performing force. Considering these difficulties, the musical success of the enterprise was wonderful.

Mr. Gilmore has chosen to call this celebration a "National Peace Jubilee." The President and his Cabinet, the Massachusetts Senators, and the Governors of all the States, were among the invited guests. The first day's exercises included an Address, by Hon. A. H. Rice, "On the restoration of Peace and Union throughout the Land"—a "Hymn of Peace," written for the occasion by Dr. O. W. Holmes—and the singing of the national air, "The Star-spangled Banner," with an additional verse, containing these words—

"Not as North or as South in the future we'll stand,
But as brothers united throughout this broad land."

President Grant's words, "Let us have peace," have been profusely quoted by all the officials connected with the celebration; Dr. Holmes's hymn invokes the return of the Angel of Peace; and the decorators of the Coliseum have represented colossal winged figures hastening from above in response to all these calls. But will there be any real response? Have these invocations any special significance? Is any particular result to be expected from them?

Mr. Gilmore wanted music glorified by a gigantic celebration. Its greatness would be best secured by making it in some sort national; so he did what he could to connect it in the public mind with the President, the government, the present crisis, the national policy. Other eminent musicians shared with Mr. Gilmore in the wish that their art might be complimented by these associations. Boston merchants knew the commercial value to the city of the success of such an enterprise, and they backed it liberally with money, and joined in the cry of Peace, Peace! Dr. Holmes wrote his hymn of Peace to order, and a very pretty one it is; and Mr. Rice praised and glorified permanent Peace and cemented Union as if we had already attained them.

Now, as far as I know, not one of these gentlemen ever troubled himself about slavery, the cause of our late war, until it brought war upon us; nor did any of them help with a single finger the efforts made to destroy slavery by a small minority of the nation between 1831 and 1860. Probably, until the war broke out, all of them continued to hold Daniel Webster's opinion that "Liberty *and* Union" might be well enough preserved *for us* by patient acquiescence in slavery for the negro. Indeed Mr. Rice shows his utter misconception of our present position by speaking of the existing peace as "resting upon the immutable basis of justice and humanity—upon a common interpretation of the fundamental law, and upon a more homogeneous civilization in the States." Nor, as far as I know, are these gentlemen any more opposed to war on principle that they were, ten years ago, to slavery on principle. Indeed it can hardly be be doubted that, if England should continue to act badly in the matter of the Alabama claims, and our Government should judge a war with her to be necessary, Dr. Holmes would write (to order) an ode suited to inspire it. Mr. Rice, in eloquent prose, would set forth that honor and self-respect demanded it, and Mr. Gilmore and his band would join one of the first regiments engaged in it. In short, these plaudits to Peace really belong to the class of "glittering generalities." Making this discrimination as a matter of duty, I will now turn to another view of the great Festival.

Looking at the enterprise as an undertaking of novel character on an enormous scale, it most be acknowledged that, as the difficulties were great, so the success has been wonderful. Not only the whole great undertaking, but each of its many parts, was a success. The safe and prompt conveyance of so many additional tens of thousands to and from the city daily—the lodging and subsistence of the immense number that passed the week here—the orderly arrangement of the foot-passengers and vehicles that thronged every avenue to the Coliseum—the ample provisions, first in the plan of the building, and then in the attendance of ushers and directors, that this vast throng should make no press or jam after entrance, but that all should get to their appointed places without obstruction—the application of really tasteful and beautiful decoration to so vast a space in so short a time—the perfect ventilation of the building, the air of which was never oppressive, and was hot only when it was hotter outside—the supply of water and of gas—the ample provision against fire—the arrangement for instant transmission of news by post and by telegraph—the generously furnished head-quarters for the press—the store-rooms for the safe-keeping of cloaks and umbrellas—the dressing-rooms and mending-room for ladies—the admirable balance of power between the organ, built for the purpose and the great chorus and orchestra, neither of which had ever come together until the organ was finished—the success, until then problematical, of training two bodies so vast to precision and unity of action—the provision of variety and attractiveness enough to keep this immense number of people in attendance and at the height of interest throughout the week—all this must be admitted to be distinguished and triumphant success.

Next comes the question.—Was the music, as music, a success?

I believe there is agreement, not only general but enthusiastic, in an affirmative answer here also.

As the preparations for the great event assumed an aspect more and more substantial, it was found that the three days originally purposed for the Festival would be insufficient, and a programme was arranged to occupy five days.

There was a certain classification for these five days, arranging the different kinds of music so as best to gratify those who must choose but one or two out of the five. Nevertheless, as the first day was the critical period, the result of which would do much to decide success or failure for the whole, admirable specimens of each class of music were there assembled, the greatest artists were then to make their appearance, and certain attractions of eloquence and poetry were also added. The first day *must* be made successful.

For the second day was arranged a selection of grand classical music, symphony and oratorio, by the best masters.

For the third day, June 17th, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, there was a patriotic and military programme, including "Hail Columbia," the "Star-Spangled Banner," and the famous Anvil Chorus from *Il Trovatore*, accompanied by 100 Boston Firemen striking as many anvils, and by discharges of cannon out side, fired by electric wires from the platform. *That* would be sure to draw, even if other things failed.

On the fourth day, other specimens of the finest selections from symphony and oratorio were to be given, including the whole of the delightful 5th Symphony of Beethoven, and pieces from Handel, Haydon, Mozart, Mendelssohn and Rossini.

The entertainment for the fifth day was a concert by the children of the public schools; being, on a larger scale, the same thing which has been found most attractive and delightful at some former municipal celebrations.

Two days before the first performance, as if to make assurance doubly sure, came an announcement that the much admired Anvil Chorus, with its Firemen and its cannon, would be given on the first day as well as on the third.

The first day came, openiag with rain, which was much needed to lay the dust, and then giving us pleasant weather, which continued through the week. All the passages leading to the Coliseum were thronged, but without crowd, obstruction or disturbance. There was an immense audience, yet the building was not filled, many of the more expensive seats remaining vacant. I should have said that the seats were $5 and $3 according to location, while $2 was the price of a standing place outside the seats. People generally went early, but there was so much to see and admire that no weariness seemed felt, even during the speaking of the Mayor, and the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, inaudible to three-quarters of the audience.

There *was* a great deal to look at. The decorations of the interior were found sufficient, satisfactory, appropriate, beautiful. The extent of the building, the harmonious arrangement of its parts, the strength of the lofty pillars supporting the roof, the firmness with which they were fixed by connecting joists above and supporting knees of ship-timber, the beautiful festoons of flags dependent from the roof, the continuous rows of windows between the upper and lower roof, affording at once light and ventilation; the survey even of these things took time. Then the chorus of 100,000, all in their places half an hour before the opening of the exercises. The first aspect of that chorus, a mass of little, indistinguishable faces, with a very small organ next the wall behind them, gave you some idea of the extent of the building. Everybody knew somebody in that chorus; and though it was unlikely that you would find your friend among the 10,000, it would be *so* good if you could pick him or her out with an opera-glass. A new surprise! The distance was too great for the opera-glass; and a full third of the audience farthest from the singers were unable, even with this help, to distinguish faces on the platform.

Well, you turn to look for people you know in the audience immediately around you. Another surprise! You don't see anybody there whom you ever saw before. What an immense number of strangers! At last, an occasional acquaintance is discerned here and there. These explorations go on while an inaudible praver and two inaudible speeches have been made from the platform, and now the sound of the organ warns you that the real business and pleasure of the day are to begin.

As the leading violinist, the distinguished Ole Bull, comes forward to take his place, he is greeted with applause by the musicians, and the portion of the audience near enough to see who he is; and so, at successive stages of the performance, when Mr. Zerrahn, Mr. Gilmore, and Madame Parepa Rosa appear, they are welcomed with plaudits given with equal zeal by performers and audience.

Luther's grand Choral, "A strong castle is our Lord," is the first piece. To the most distant auditors it seems to lack power; and to them the finer portions of the Tannhauser overture, which follows it, are but faintly distinguishable; but the great body of the hearers heartily enjoy these, and find themselves lifted by the chorus, organ and orchestra to that active enthusiasm for which the mere sight of the interior had prepared them. The magnificient *Gloria*, from Mozart's 12th Mass, deepens this impressions, and the "Star-Spangled Banner," sung by the full chorus, and accompanied by organ, orchestra, military band, drum-corps, and artillery outside marking the time, moved the audience to a point of demonstration that must have satisfied even Mr. Gilmore. It was settled, even before the intermission, that the great enterprise was successful.

After fifteen minutes pause, when a cheerful buzz of conversation took the place of the music, part 2d of the Festival began with Dr Holmes's "Hymn of Peace." Having spoken of the small moral significance of this production, it is but fair to call attention to its artistic merit. Never was anodyne conveyed in a pleasanter vehicle. In a sweet, graceful, flowing strain, it calls on the Angel of Peace to descend and abide with us. As a specimen of its peculiar and very skilful structure, I quote the last of the three double stanzas:—

"Angels of Bethlehem, answer the strain!
Hark! a new birth-song is filling the sky!—
Loud as the storm-wind that tumbles the main!
Bid the full breath of the organ reply,—
Let the loud tempest of voices reply,—
Roll its long surge like the earth-shaking main!
Swell the vast song till it mounts to the sky!—
Angels of Bethlehem, echo the strain!

In each stanza, not only does the second half repeat the rhyme, and even the rhymed words of the first, in reverse order, but the sentiment, and the same or nearly the same form of expression of it, are also repeated. The second half of each verse is equivalent to a backward reading of the first half; and yet, to a first reading of the hymn, not only does the sense seem to proceed, but to proceed in a beautiful and impressive manner. Only a practised versifier could have produced such an effect by such means.

The "*Inflammatus*," solo and chorus from Rossini's "*Stabat Mater*," was given with very grand effect, and was appreciated and applauded; but the chief demonstrations of delight, both on this and on succeeding days, were called out by the famous "Anvil Chorus." It was very skilfully got up, in the style with which Jullien made us familiar twenty years ago, addressing both eye and ear with a steadily cumulative effect. When all was ready for the piece, the 100 firemen, showily clad in red shirts and white caps, appeared in the middle of the deep stage, and filed down, fifty on each side of it, to take position at their anvils, showing two lines of vivid scarlet to the audience. Then began the orchestra; next followed the great chorus; by and by the right-hand line of red Vulcans raised their hammers simultaneously, and smote their anvils with what sounded like one blow; immediately those on the other side executed the same skilful manœuvre; and then, for some minutes, the two answered promptly to each other as fast as the Conductor could swing his arms to signal them; and then, for the climax, the cannon outside gave their peals to mark the time, in exact cadence with the anvil-strokes. Then what clapping of hands, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and exclamations of delight from the audience! This thoroughly touched the popular heart.

But I have no more space for details. On Wednesday, the second day, it was known that President Grant would be present, and that announcement completely filled the Coliseum. The same effect was produced on Thursday by the popular patriotic and military programme which had been arranged to honor the 17th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker-hill. On Friday, the fourth day, the music again was of a classical character, consisting of the finest specimens of symphony and chorus, and again the immense structure was filled. And so it was again on Saturday, when the children of the public schools were the performers, supported by the same orchestra.

A gratifying incident in the fourth day's concert was the presence of Mr. George Peabody, lately arrived from England. He was introduced to the audience by the Mayor, Mr. Shurtleff, and, being heartily cheered, said a few words in response, the purport of which was that his long residence in the Old World had not weakened his attachment to the New. On this occasion too Mr. Lowell Mason was present, and our Senators, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson.

The enterprise has been a grand, a full, a complete success. It seems wonderful how so much could be successfully carried out, with so very little to be abated through accident, forgetfulness or miscalculation.

One thing turned out differently from the general expectation. It had been debated how far this immense volume of sound could be heard. How far off could one distinguish that a monster concert was going on? And would the music be distinctly recognizable at all the houses in the vicinity? Some thought one way, some another; but nobody doubted the overpowering character of the sound within the building; and no doubt some people staid away for fear it should be too much for their nerves.

The fact was the reverse of these apprehensions. The people most distant from the music not only failed to hear its more delicate parts, but, as I have said, found the grand chorus and the immense orchestra far less powerful than they had expected. Even those nearer and nearest found the volume of tone not overwhelming; and the universal testimony is that the impression of power has often been more effectually given in smaller buildings. The fact seems to be that the amplification of space was still greater in proportion than the amplification of sound; and yet so powerful were the accessories to this music, so strongly were the eyes, the sympathies, and the imagination appealed to, that all were lifted to a level of enthusiasm equal to their expectations.

I am sorry to say that the Management gave some specimens of a custom not rare among theatrical and musical managers, namely, letting their convenience set aside the fulfilment of their promises. Thus, though all the four movements of Beethoven's admirable 5th Symphony were specified in the bills, they gave us only the second and a portion of the third. Also, when the Anvil Chorus was found the most attractive piece to the majority on the first day, when the house was not filled, it was forthwith announced that that piece would be repeated *every* day throughout the festival; and no doubt this announcement helped to swell their audiences. Yet when on the fourth day—it being apparent that they intended to close the performance without that piece—some one of the hearers rose and demanded it, while the applause of thousands showed their equal desire, it was replied that the request could not be granted, because neither the anvils nor the firemen were present.

Our great Musical Festival is ended; but the remembrance of it will be recalled with delight as long as either musicians or hearers shall live. Long live Gilmore! and may his shadow never be less!

NORTH.

## Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22d, 1869.

IN the face of the influence sought to be exerted by the Chief Justice, and in despite of the indirect hostility of his organ, the *New York Tribune*, the Radicals of Virginia are certain to triumph on the 6th of July prox. I make this reference because the Virginia Election is the first under President Grant, and the more because of the very active though veiled efforts to prevent this result of those two most distinguished champions of unqualified amnesty without regard to guarantees,—Judge Chase and Horace Greeley. I feel sure that the *Tribune* would deny the latter part of my sentence, but the denial would not alter the fact that the result of his policy would in large degree rehabilitate the Virginian rebel and put the Virginian loyalist under foot.

Whatever success the Radical party win in Virginia, their active men all feel it will be in spite of the *Tribune's* hostility. It has not been an open war, but a cold and contemptuous ignoring of all that would put the Republicans fair before the country. I learn from gentlemen of undoubted integrity who have been active in the Virginia campaign, that the *Tribune* has systematically declined, if not in words by acts, to publish any letter, etc., relating to Gov. Well's candidature or the position of the Republican party; while on the other hand it has published one or more communications which did sustain the candidature of the conservative nominees. Editorially it has not advocated either Wells or Walker.

I have called attention to this indifference because it has a motive deeper than the want of interest in the subject by a news-loving constituency, and that relates to the influences which are now controlling the *Tribune*. THE STANDARD is not a party organ; the *Tribune* is. The Virginia election is an important one, and its bearings ought not to be ignored. But Chief-Justice Chase has not forgotten his ambition, nor is there one moment's cessation of his efforts to create new party elements, on which to attempt a Presidential movement in 1872. His son-in-law attempts to ride on the labor movement in the North, with a larboard glance at cotton, South; while the Chief-Justice himself, aided by the dignity of his position, and the exercise of its duties in the seaboard southern circuit, manages the railroad and landed interests of the South, with the aid of his apostacy and universal amnesty ideas. As much as any ambitious man dare, who has necessarily to face both ways, the Chief-Justice has been using his great office for the advancement of his own purposes, and the rehabilitation of the Southern dominancy—or at least so much as will serve as an ally, if not a master. The attempt to disrupture the Republican party in Virginia, while not directly counselled by Mr. Chase, met with his approval. That was natural after his own fall. It has more than a local significance.

But the same perversity has had control, negatively at least, of the *Tribune's* columns. I do not suppose Mr. Greeley has had any desire to do this, but his new man Friday, Whitelaw Reid, the *de facto* managing editor, most certainly has. It is worth while recalling the relations of that brilliant, cynical and ambitious journalist towards the Chief-Justice. The knowledge will cast a light over both the present and future. Mr. Reid is best known to the country as "Agate" of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. He was the Washington correspondent of that journal, and during all the time was known as a warm admirer and personal follower of the Chief-Justice. He was with him on that famous Southern Coast tour in the winter of 1864-'65. The confidant and eulogizer of the Ohio statesman, it was a little noticeable that the last of his regular Washington correspondence was a letter to the *Gazette* in the spring of 1866, leaning very strongly towards Mr. Johnson's policy. This too, after his rupture with the Republican party was a decided one. Mr. Reid was here during the Impeachment trial, and in his letters was the warm defender of the Chief-Justice's course. Shortly after this he went on the *Tribune*, his special function being the writing of the editorial para-

graphs, commenting more or less pungently upon the various items of news, etc., that come in after most of the stately leaders are prepared. Mr. Reid still writes the majority of these, "head eds.," as I believe they are called. It is not difficult to personalize the pen that indites the cynical pungencies recently fired off in such numbers at the woman suffrage advocates, and at Mr. Phillips. The impulse in the latter attacks is the same as that which caused negative hostility to Virginia radicalism—the personal sympathy with Judge Chase and his hopes and policy.

It is rumored among the journalists here, that from the first Mr. Reid systematically ranged himself with Mr. Greeley in the ammesty argument and especially in his sympathy with Chase's nomination. John Russell Young on the other hand saw quite early that the Chief Justice would betray the Radicals. So the *Tribune* was saved from committal to Mr. Chase's fortunes, but the understanding here is that Whitelaw Reid was anxious to see the Democratic Convention, make the Chief Justice their Candidate, and that if he had been, he, Reid, would have sustained it.

I have only mentioned these things in order to a proper comprehension of the *Tribune's* position. It behooves the Radical feeling in politics to watch closely. I suppose that there will be a disintegration of the Republican party ere Grant's administration is well over. I see that there may be such new issues as will attract men to their banner, but I do not believe that safety or freedom would follow such leadership and policy as the Chief-Justice's cabal will offer. The Radical party of the near future, if one is to be formed, cannot be successfully led by Salmon P. Chase, nor be championed by the *Tribune* under Whitelaw Reid's manipulations. For one I think it not well, however critical I may be of the administration or the Republican party, to quietly sit by and see treachery at work in the camp.

ASMODEUS.

## *THE RADICAL CLUB.*

BOSTON, May 18th, 1869.

YESTERDAY, the hospitable parlors of Rev. J. T. Sargent opened wide their door for the last regular meeting of the Radical Club, and the spacious rooms were soon thronged by a company of cultivated and thoughtful men and women, such as are rarely gathered under one roof.

The first speaker was RALPH WALDO EMERSON, who read a paper characterized by the same combination of philosophic thought, profound insight, and practical common sense which make all his essays so delightful and so inspiring. I know his righteous horror of all reports and reporters, and shall not attempt, therefore, to give any extended report of this essay. He who presumes to steal the thunder of Jupiter must needs touch it lightly.

We know, said Mr. Emerson, that the world was made at one cast; what we find in ourselves, we recognize all around us. Whatever man sees, that he has a key to in his own mind. All mythologies, the most barbarous and the most refined, he can translate into his own. The scholar can easily understand how the King of Crete came to be the Olympian Jove of Homer, in old time, and how, in later ages, a saint of Nazareth became the adoration of nations, for the student is aware, in himself, that the religious impulse is the most revolutionary principle in human experience, uplifting and impelling the man beyond himself. Every nation of the globe is in our day, whether willingly or reluctantly, holding up its sacred books and traditions to our eyes, and we find in our mythology a key to theirs, and in our experience a key to their experience. There is in all these a general agreement to what we call good morals. In all these sacred books or systems, the anomalies can be accounted for in the peculiar conditions or geography of the people; and, as a rule, every one, of course with its share of nonsense, has some exceptional merit, some contribution of a wise and holy soul to ethics. In each appears the activity of the imagination in a barbarous mind, and the contemporary existence of a minority of comparatively wiser men, holding fast to the simple rule of duty.

All the creeds claim miracles, but we do not therefore accept the creeds; we measure them by their civilizing power. Thus Christianity strives against the sensual instincts of man; we hold it therefore in honor. So does Buddhism, and every high enthusiasm. Just so far as they have this power, they prevail. You cannot resist a moral movement. "An arch never sleeps," say the architects. No more does a new truth, once clearly apprehended. You find a parallel truth in the very beginning of history for every noble inspiration of our religious history, as well as for every crime of ours committed under the sanction of religion or the claimed sanction of religion. That wise man that I spoke of as appearing always—the minority of thoughtful persons—is expressed in the mariner's prayer in the storm to Neptune, "Oh, God, thou cans't save me if thou wilt, and if thou wilt, thou cans't destroy; but however, I will steer my rudder true."

These cosmical statements occur, in every nation, and in the sacred books of every nation. Every reader knows that almost every passage in our sacred books can be paralleled with a like sentiment from another book of a distant nation, and of such an age as to show that it was not derived from ours. And so many of the contributions in Eastern literature are so inestimable in themselves that one would think they could not be hidden in obscure translations, translations which do not pass into currency. The immense energy of the sentiment of duty, and the awe of the supernatural, exert a powerful influence on minds that are often perverted, and a tradition is received with awe, but without corresponding action on the intellect. Then you find so many men infatuated on that one topic of religion. Wise on all other topics, they lose their reason the moment they talk of religious things. In a day not far off, these ridiculous attempts to patch the ecliptic of the universe with a piece of tin will come to an end.

We can never hold any false belief with impunity. It is claimed that the terrors of the old religious system were wholesome checks on the conduct of men, and that the gradual decline of the influence of the old religious system in this country, and in Germany as well, has been attended with a greater looseness of human action. But the lives of the believers were broken by it; their minds obscured, and their moral sense injured. One is struck with the manner in which clergymen of the old school, as we say, had their minds darkened by their gloomy opinions. When somebody said to the late Rev. Dr. Payson, of Portland, "How much you must enjoy religion, since you live always administering it," he replied that nobody enjoyed religion less than ministers, as nobody enjoyed food less than cooks. No doubt he enjoyed the remark, but still the remark was remembered because of its truth.

It is safe to say that no one holds the Christian traditions as they were uniformly held in the last generation. We rest on the moral nature, and the whole world shortly must. The church, you tell us, is an institution of God. But are not wit, and wise men, and good judgment whether a thing be so or no, also institutions of God, and older than the other? The commanding fact which the true soul never does *not* see is the sufficiency of the moral sentiment. You can never come to any peace or power, until you put your whole reliance on the moral constitution of man, and not at all in any history. George Fox had the courage to say, that though he read of Christ and God, he knew them only from a like spirit in his own soul.

There is at this time, as we all know, existing and increasing, a disposition to complain of opinions that are growing old. In matters of religion, men merely fasten their eyes on the difference between their creed and ours, while the charm of the study is in finding the agreements and identities in all the religions of men. I think we should not assail Christianity or Judaism or Buddhism, but frankly thank each for every brave and just sentence or history that is furnished us. We should not contradict or censure these well meant approximations, but point out the identity of their inspiration with every other inspiration. The idea of this age, the idea of our Protestant and Progressive Church, will not be truly reached or expressed until it attain the height which religion and philosophy reached in any former age. One thing is certain, religions are obsolete when lives do not proceed from them. The worst adversary that the Calvinistic, the Episcopal or the Methodist church ever had was the discovery that they or some of them would not be the friends but the enemies of the emancipation of the blacks.

I look, said Mr. E——, in conclusion for the enlargement of that upper class in our society, composed of those who enjoy the luxury of a religion that does not degrade; who think it the highest worship to expect of Heaven the most and the best; who do not wonder that there was a Christ, but that there were not a thousand; who have conceived an infinite hope for mankind; and who believe that the history of Jesus is the history of every man, written large.

Mr. JOHN OWEN told a couple of anecdotes of Dr. Payson, called to mind by the allusion of Mr. Emerson to that once prominent divine, and then Mrs. HOWE said, that many years ago, she very zealously endeavored to convert Mr. Emerson to the orthodox view—she need not say with what success; and although Mr. Emerson had had a good chance at her since, he had not converted her. She still felt something of the same opposition to his views. They did not seem to answer all our purposes. She did not see their application to the practical emergencies of society.

Mr. SARGENT asked if Mr. Emerson had not rightly measured and defined the absolute religion which underlies all phases and forms of theology and church religion. He was impressed by what had been said of the manifest changes which have gone on and are going on in the doctrines of the church. One might go to Park street Church or the Old South, and hear very fair radicalism from those pulpits. They certainly avoided many of the statements which were so common in the old theology.

Mrs. HOWE said she was very conscious of that, and that was one reason why she thought they must not take too polemic and controversial ground with the churches. They complained, "You radicals do not give us a chance. You do not know what we preach or what we believe now. You take pleasure rather in representing us as intolerant as we ever were; but we think we have learned as well as you."

Mr. HIGGINSON said that when he read Mr. Emerson's Divinity Hall Address, he felt that at last he had some glimpse of what was meant by religion; that great thought of a universal religion dawned upon his mind, and he saw that, as Channing said, he had been trying to get religion through something else than religion itself. He did not know how it was with others, but all that was grand and noble that he had ever seen in life had been seen only in the light of that thought; and it was with no feeling but one of shuddering that he looked back, not merely to the limitations of orthodoxy, but to any limitation which separated Christianity from religion. It seemed to him that such sentiments as had been expressed by Mr. Emerson had a vital bearing upon those great interests which Mrs. Howe thought they did not touch. So long as radicalism was negative, it was powerless; it was impoverishing; it took the life out of everybody; as soon as it became positive, it strengthened every body. The members of the churches suppose what is positive is their little dogma, and if we reject that, we are nothing; and so we are if we think that dogma of sufficient importance to dwell upon much after we reject it. When we recognize the grandeur of all the religions in the world, when we get outside of our little temple and get upon a pinacle and see the incense that ascends from all the temples in the world, and feel a sympathy for that, then we begin to be believers, and cease to be unbelievers. It had been affirmed that truth is something infinitely grander and larger than Christianity, and that was the true ground for a radical. Henry Ward Beecher once asked him—"what sort of a fellow is Theodore Parker? He hasn't got any religion at all, has he?" He replied, "Yes, I think he has got a great deal compared with you, for instance. I don't think he has as much as is to be desired. For instance, he only reads passages from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. He has that limited amount of religion as yet, he has not got up to the height of universal religion." As Mr. Parker grew older, he thought he was less and less solicitous to be called a Christian specifically. He remembered that he spoke with more respect in the latter part of his life of the proposed Bible of the world, than at an earlier period. He thought that the one limitation of that great mind was the attempt still to avail himself of the Christian traditions for practical work.

Rev. Mr. TIFFANY related an anecdote of a Chinaman whose great grief was, that an American friend was a Christian. This was such a complete turning of the tables that it made a powerful impression upon his mind. It seemed to him that the great outcry that was raised whenever anything was said about Christianity not being the root-religion, came from the popular ignorance. The majority of men were too busy to read recondite books, but if they would read a popular book like Fortunies' book on China, they would see that all the benevolent institutions for the relief of human want and suffering which we have could be paralleled in that country. He thought the most important work was the spread of knowledge. People would accept the natural conclusions if they knew the facts, but so little had been brought before them, that they believed all these beautiful things were only to be found in one quarter of the world.

Mr. WEISS said that many years ago, when he was engaged in attending a course of lectures on Ecclesiastical History, he read a poem of Mr. Emerson's—

"Set not thy foot on graves,
Care not to strip the dead
Of his sad ornament,
His myrrh, and wine, and rings,
His sheet of lead,
And trophies buried:
Go, get them where he earned them when alive,
As resolutely dig or dive!"

and that poem was a lesson in theology or religion to him, which considerably emancipated him from the routine of the school, and somewhat cast in the shade the wisdom which was being peddled out from day to day in the class. It set him upon a revision of his orthodox conception of Christ, and he found that if he would have personal religion, he must go and get it "where he earned it, when alive." He had clung to that discovery ever since, and perhaps in consequence of that he had said more about Jesus, and used the narrative and the parable and the beatitude more than most radicals. When he read that Jesus said to the people who stood around him, "Ye have heard that other people have said so-and-so—I do not care about that,—I say unto you so-and-so," it occurred to him whether that was not meant for every man and woman who was searching after religion. It was the first act of personal religion to stand out alone and say, "I say so-and-so," and although a great many people might say so who did not appear to have anything particularly well worth saying, nevertheless he clung to it as the thing that was to save mankind. How easy it was for them to state what was the theism of Jesus! It was their theism, the theism of Massachusetts, the theism of Mrs. Howe, of Col. Higginson, of Mr. Garrison, of Wendell Phillips, of the Anti-Slavery movement. It was the theism of the moral sense that had interpenetrated the flesh of men and women from the creation of the world; and it seemed to him that Mr. Emerson, when he said, in his last sentence, that "the history of Jesus is the history of every man, written large," gave the reason why we all loved him. And was not Shakspeare each man and woman sung loud and clear and strong? Was not Beethoven each man and woman played loud and strong, and sweetly, too? All stood upon the same platform, and shared in the theism of God.

Miss PEABODY, after some remarks upon the life and character of Jesus, said that the moral sentiment was religion—to worship God and love one's neighbor as one's self; and to go on and live it—that was eternal life. That was what she meant by christianity, and she was perfectly willing to have all christianity that was not that trodden under foot. But she did not like to hear Jesus spoken of as believing in or scheming to advance an idea which it seemed to her it was the business of his life to drive from the world. That other men had mistaken him, and especially that he had been called God, was a most wonderful exhibition of the truth of his life, in that his life was so superior to anything of humanity as to have impressed mankind always with the idea that he must have been God. She did not think that was any great falsehood. Everybody might feel so; everybody might be God in the same sense he was, in spirit. She remembered Father Taylor saying one evening, coming from a house where there had been a good deal of talk, "I am astonished when I hear these Unitarians talk. They talk as if there had never been another like Jesus. Why, all the men and women who understood him and loved him have been as divine as he."

Mr. PHILLIPS thought they ought not to fight windmills; they did sometimes fight shadows. He had never met a man of the old faith, who was worthy to be taken as a type of anything, who denied that the religious sentiment had found worthy and valuable and admirable expression in the mythologies; and he thought that three-quarters of all the investigations that had been made into Oriental religions, translations of their books, inquiries into their history, and analyses of their faiths, had been made by so-called orthodox men. Yale college was as learned in all that matter as Harvard. He did not think, therefore, that they could claim that the truth, as it appeared in those books and in those religions had not been recognized by orthodox men. The point where they separated was not there, by any means. Of course, the old religions, and mythologies grew out of an inspired religious consciousness, to a certain extent. He never knew a man who denied it. Every intelligent man that he ever met, of any sect, acknowledged the contributions to the literature of the West that had been made by many of the older faiths; they had not neglected, they had not depreciated that development. On all this we agree. But there is a great deal of astronomical speculation in the world, yet that does not interfere with the fact, that there is a true astronomical method. Because a great many scholars had speculated about the stars, did that prevent Copernicus and Sir Isaac Newton from being upon the right track? The question was, "Is there any indication anywhere that we have touched, even slightly, on absolute truth in any of the mythologies?" When it was claimed that some parts of the New Testament could be found in Æschylus and Sophocles and Epictetus, he admitted it; but when any man said that the New Testament could be found in Confucius and Buddha, he stopped, and demanded the proof. He did not know that any Jew by the name of Jesus Christ had said, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do to you;" but he knew that the best scholarship of Europe had scrutinized every line of the record in the most exhaustive manner, until we know, if we know anything, that three hundred years after his death, he was supposed to have said it. So far they were on solid ground. It was said that Confucius, five hundred years before Christ, said, "Do not do unto another as you would not have another do to you." There was a remarkable similarity in the sentences, and very little probability that a Jew, in that narrow valley, ever heard of a Chinese. How did they know Confucius said it? All they knew about the Chinese was not older than two hundred and fifty years. If they could prove to him that three hundred years after the death of Confucius, he was supposed to have uttered those words, he would believe it. But not now, and he did not give any more weight to the legends about Buddha. No story, forty years old, could be relied upon without scrutiny.

But suppose it was admitted that Confucius and Buddha did say just what Christ did? Steam and water were the same elements; but water would not move a locomotive, steam would. The Sermon on the Mount might be paralleled in Sophocles, they might find a great deal in Confucius; but one was water, the other steam; one had moved the world, the other had not. The proof of the fact that there was something there, was seen in the results. He had no doubt that Thomas was a great soldier, but the proof that Grant had something about him, either circumstances, accident, or inherent qualities, that was better than Thomas, was that he saved the North. India had all the intellectual brilliancy that Greece had; she touched all the problems; exhausted all the intellectual debate thousands of years ago, and there she lies to-day. On the other hand, here was Europe. She had made marvellous progress; and, with the single exception of race, there was no element mixed in the European cauldron to distinguish it from the Asiatic. Unless they were going to lay on this distinction of race, the whole difference between European and Asiatic development, they had nothing but Christianity to account for it. It seemed to him that it was wiser to claim for Christianity the largest share in the merit of European civilization. Everybody knew that the Chinese had hospitals before Christ, if we are to trust history; everybody knew all about their progress in civilization; but they made no progress to-day. The bee could make an eight-sided cell better than Brunell could make it, but the bee could make nothing else. The Chinese had not advanced for a thousand years. They had every spring-board and fulcrum and motive power to go ahead, and had not. Europe had constantly gone ahead. We had saved all we had got, and gained more. We had taken the classic and the Roman civilization, taken their law, their ethics, their religious ideas, their idea of popular rights, and we had carried them on. Europe was the hand and brain of the world to-day; the pioneer, the constructor, the administrator of the world to-day, and there was nothing underlying her to make her so except race and Christianity. Other portions of the world had had the intellect. De Tocqueville had told us, in his report to the French Institute, that there was no theory or dream of social science ever debated in Europe, that could not be found in the Hindoo discussions. The difference was not caused by lack of intellect. Here was a fact to be explained, and it could not be brushed away by saying this man and the other made a very near approach. No doubt that was so; nobody ever denied it. God never left any race, nor any man, nor any time, without Himself, and these twilights and approaches to noon were seen everywhere in history. But they had got at last the Copernican theory, and no fact appeared that it did not explain. They had got at last the true chemical analysis, and they went down and weighed the atoms. That explained all new combinations, and all new discoveries. The reason why he believed in Sir Isaac Newton was, that he gave the key to every fact, developed no matter where. Sir Thomas Browne would tell a great many beautiful dreams about astronomy, but they did not explain the facts. Christianity had faced the facts and explained them. He claimed, therefore, that there was something essentially different in it from the religious experience of other races.

Miss PEABODY asked if that "something" was a method of life.

Mr. PHILLIPS replied that what he meant was, that sugar and starch, considered chemically, were the same thing; steam and water were the same thing, but the result of their action was different. So if they showed him every line of the Sermon on the Mount paralleled in Confucius or Antoninus, it did not move him in the least. He still put the problem, How do you explain the fact that one arrangement of them has Europe as the result, and some other arrangement of them has no result, comparatively speaking?

MR. HIGGINSON said that the history of the United States testified how well Mr. Phillips' theories fitted and sustained him, but he was sure there were others besides himself who felt that if they were compelled to look at the history of the world as he looked at it, it would stunt and paralyze them. If he were obliged to believe that the truth of history, the belief of the world, rested on two arguments, one being the historical argument, that we got within three hundred years of a certain fact, when Mr. Phillips himself said they could prove nothing further back than forty years, and the other being, that in looking at the present condition of Europe, they had got to solve the history of the world by the problem of Europe, and had got, in solving that problem, to take two facts, both of which Mr. Phillips recognized, and guess which was the factor upon which the result depended, (because he had said there was *Christianity* and *race*, and he might have added *climate*)—if his hopes for the world and his theory of religion depended on these two arguments, it would make him very weak. To him, it was such a position as that which destroyed, which pulled down; its opposite, faith in the instincts of humanity and sympathy with the religions of the world, was that which built up. As he listened to Mr. Phillips, it seemed to him that their eloquent friend did not say a single word in behalf of calling ourselves Christians in the sphere of morals, that could not be adduced with precisely the same force, in behalf of calling ourselves Shaksperians in the world of intellect. In each case, it was the difference between admitting the superiority of the individual, and separating him from the human race. When, at the end, he said the reason why he believed in Sir Isaac Newton was because he found all questions answered in him, it seemed to him (Mr. H——) that he annihilated all his previous statements. If he believed in Christ as he believed in Sir Isaac Newton, as he believed in Shakspeare, it was all very well. Then the question remained, could Christs be made by the study of Christ? He did not believe it, because Christ did not make himself in that manner. He would repeat, once for all, that he should feel weakened and paralyzed by taking what seemed to him the limited view of God's providence and of human history, that Mr. Phillips took.

Mr. PHILLIPS explained, that in speaking of the scrutiny to which the record of Christianity had been subjected, he only wanted to show that they ought to weigh equals against each other. He knew, so far as the most exact scholarship could tell him, that a certain thing done and a certain thing said were supposed three hundred years after Christ, to have been done and said by him. They did not know anything about their Oriental Scriptures. Old Agesilaus said a very good thing when he said, as they were told, that "to work was infinitely better than to pray." It was a very brave, sound, and Christian thing; but did he say it? He did not know. Some fine thinker might have found one half of the story, and made the rest. He could not tell. One half of Plutarch was poetry, the other fact. So when considering the records of any religion, even Christianity itself, they must remember that principle. But he demanded that they should be put upon the same plane; that they should scrutinize the one as they did the other. The Eastern records were all story and legend until the same criticism was brought to bear upon them to which the records of Christianity had been subjected.

In regard to Sir Isaac Newton, he believed in him, in astronomy. He had got the key to the material universe. When they came down to Laplace, they found they could reconstruct the universe on that principle. He would go to the stake on the correctness of the Copernican theory. When they came to religion, it was a different quality. He did not believe in Christ as he believed in Sir Isaac Newton; but he saw that the religious sentiment lay at the basis of civilization; it was the motive power and the check that could make human nature the highest product of the world. Europe had had a variety of religions, that had never produced anything. They thought they were now coming out into the sunlight, and were on the right track to the right goal. Take a single element in European history—the sanctity of man as an individual, in his personal rights. No other civilization of the world ever gave an inkling of it. Greece knew nothing of it; he never heard of it in Africa or Asia; Europe had it. With the variety of race there was in Europe, they could not trace it wholly to race. He believed it was largely due to the religious idea upon which Europe rested. It was the natural outgrowth of Christianity, and was paralleled in the civilization of no other race in the world. It was just as much in antagonism to the race qualities of this race as of any other race. The Saxon people from which we sprung were as despotic and tyrannical as any other race; yet in spite of that, the equality of man was recognized.

In reply to a suggestion by Mr. Higginson, the speaker said he was, of course, willing to allow the element of freedom in races, but the question was, why it had not produced this regard for personal rights before? Europe existed before Christianity; the Germanic race existed two or three thousand years, perhaps, before Christianity.

Mr. POTTER wanted to know why, if they were to take Europe as evidence that Christianity was different from other religions, it was not fair to say that Christianity failed in Asia for the same reason that other religions failed there? Did not the facts tend to show that the difference in result was really due to differences of race and climate rather than to an essential difference in the religious idea?

Mr. PHILLIPS replied, that he thought Christianity took possession of the Roman Empire, as it then existed. Civilization, what there was of it at that period, was a mere belt around the Mediterranean. Up to the last five hundred years, there was no civilization that penetrated a hundred miles inward. Christianity took possession of the Roman Empire. He did not think they were necessarily thrown back upon race because it failed in a single province in Judea.

Mr. HIGGINSON reminded Mr. Phillips of South America, and he said that even South America would compare favorably with the Chinese Empire, in her recognition of the great principles of the nineteenth century. He believed that the science of three thousand years ago was in many particulars as far advanced as ours. He thought they would find by-and-by, that with half-a-dozen exceptions, the older nations understood nature about as well as we did.

Dr. GILES, well known in this vicinity, as quite a prominent spiritualist, asked what was the standard by which they were to measure the various religions? He thought if they looked upon Brahminism and the religions of the older nations as failures, they must look upon Christianity as a failure, because it did not bring universal happiness to all who believed in it, any more than Brahminism did. Only those whose spiritual faculties were unfolded were really happy.

Mr. HIGGINSON said that after all this talk about whether Jesus said this or that or somebody else, what impoverished him was the idea of its being a historical question, to be determined by historical argument whether somebody ever said, "Do unto others as you would be done by." He had supposed that there was never a child born into the world, even among the wildest and most barbarous people, who might not have said that.

Mr. WEISS sympathised very strongly with Mr. PHILLIPS in regard to the emphasis which he put upon the humane and social developments of Christianity, but he thought he overlooked certain points connected with the theory of the development of religious and intellectual ideas which were very important in the discussion of this question. Mr. Phillips doubted whether Agesilaus said, "It is better to work than to pray." Perhaps he did not, but *somebody* must have said it, else it would not have been attributed to Agesilaus. What particular consequence was it whether Confucius uttered the Golden Rule or not? *Somebody* must have uttered it, or it would not have come down to us. [Mr. PHILLIPS—in an under-tone—But *when* it was first uttered is of consequence.] The important point was, that everything of this kind was a stepping-stone in the stream of time, which led the nations from one position to another. He found an explanation of the whole problem in the relations of the great emigrations of the world to the development of the race. It was in the German nation that Christianity first found its aboriginal element; Germanic regard for woman; and it there gave the spiritual and theistic impulse to those humanitary and social ideas which has given it dominion over the hearts of men. The fact was, that as mankind had been growing older, it seemed that God had been growing older, for God expressed Himself to different phases and epochs of humanity. As men and women were born into the world, and as the race became more and more perfected in their organization or fibre by the crossing of blood, by conquest, or by aboriginal purity, its religious impulse took various forms; not merely the theism of Christ, but the humanitarian idea of the Germanic people. Christianity did not put woman where she belonged until it touched the German race.

MR. PHILLIPS. They were not reached until the fifth or sixth century. What was Christianity doing the first five or six centuries?

Mr. WEISS. It was mixing itself with the Greek and Roman elements.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, but it recognized woman.

Mr. HIGGINSON. It does not now.

Mrs. HOWE. What does, if it does not?

Mr. WEISS, continued and said that he had reference to a broad, general recognition. Of course, he understood that when Christian women became food for wild beasts, there was adoration paid to such women. There was always exceptional respect and adoration paid to those great lights of the world's history. He thought they overlooked that wonderful development of intelligence which sprang from the Christian mind, which made Europe what it was. He suggested this modification of Mr. Phillip's figure, that the great principles of theism were always steam, for the time being, wherever they were, but the trouble was, the locomotive was not invented. The locomotive had been built by the great and varied intelligence of modern Europe and America, and thus we went ahead on the right track.

Mr. Hallowell wanted a definition of Christianity from Mr. Phillips; whether it was his Christianity that overcame the Roman Empire, or whether it was the Jewish, Messianic idea which was held by all the churches. He wanted to ask Mr. Phillips whether he had faith in what is called "the atoning blood of Christ," and the other doctrines and theories of Christianity, or whether it was simply the moral law.

Mr. PHILLIPS replied that that was opening a very wide door; they could not discuss it to-day.

Mr. HALLOWELL said Mr. Phillips had admitted that Christianity found its parallels in other religions, but that the other religions had failed as civilizing forces. If there was the sentiment there, he wanted to know why that sentiment did not operate? If the force lay in the idea, then the reason must be found in the difference of race, or climate, or something else that might be suggested; but if it was the man Jesus, the Messiah of the Jews, he wanted to know it.

Mr. SARGENT thought the question had been answered in Mr. Emerson's essay. It had been refreshing to him to listen to the teachings of Mr. Phillips. He felt that in his justification it should be said that while others had been theorizing about Christianity, he had been vigorously at work *doing* it.

Mr. MORSE made some remarks, but he was too far distant for me to hear what he said. His idea seemed to be that we claimed too much for our civilization; that we were not making any very great progress, but simply having little better social time. That we had many very high commanding souls, that we had a religion which was ever new, did not seem to him to be a true statement.

In response to repeated and urgent calls from the company, who were anxious that Mr. Phillips should reply to the suggestions that had been made, that gentleman spoke again, very briefly. He said they did not come there to discuss the items of a technical faith, they were discussing Christianity as a great spiritual force, and thought it distinct from all other religions. He believed that, in a certain sense, Buddha was inspired but not in the sense in which Christ was. He thought the essence of Christianity was to be judged by its fruit. That was his Gibraltar. If a man tried to do a thing, he might be cut short, as Lincoln was by death, he might be circumscribed by circumstances, and therefore they could never judge of a man's character by his results; but if they gave an idea, a force, a thousand years to work in, they could judge of its essential character by the results. He thought the human race had never reached such a plane as Europe stood upon to-day, and therefore he claimed that no religion had ever done for the world what Christianity had done; or had ever given us that key to human nature which it had given us. Consequently no one of them could claim to stand anywhere near it.

Dr. BARTOL thought there could be no difference of opinion as to the fact, that that the name of Christ had taken up history and that his teachings, as they had been organized, had socially succeeded. He should as soon think of abolishing the word "light," or "sweet" or "strong," as of abolishing the word "Christian." The only question was, whether the individual Christ, or any word or deed of Christ, was the essence and the beginning of the thing, or only a production of it, an illustration of it. Christ, as an individual man, was not the substance of Christianity, he only voiced it. He was the prophet of it, the saint of it, in the best sense, the orator of it; but Christianity altogether was but an illustration of something that lay behind and deeper. They might call it what they would. He did not like the word "theism" very much; but it was something that lay deeper than any particular person. He did not think there was any thing in Jesus different in kind. There was nothing in God different in kind. Every man was his kind, and there were no two kinds of spirit or of inspiration. The difference was only a difference of degree; that last throe of the mountain, which, in the fulness of time, lifted him an inch or a hair's breadth higher, and gave him this great power. Some might think that this was going against him, but it was not so. This was precisely his own idea. Christ did not come to preach Christianity; he came to preach truth, God, duty, all that was great and good. He foresaw the idolatry into which the church would fall. He insisted that it was best for his disciples that he should go away out of their sight, but his spirit would come "and lead them into all truths." That was one of his wonderful saying It seemed to him that the attempt should be, so far as Christ was concerned, to look at the facts which he looked at, and then would follow, not so much faith in Him, as His faith, the faith he had. They must go and see more of the facts, and less of the story. All the writing was of little use. Indeed, it was really invisible, although it seemed very visible. Those stories of the good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the rest, were only so many writings in invisible ink, which had been laid on the fire of the man's moral feeling until the characters were brought out; and what the fire in the man's own mind did not bring out, he could make no use of. They were all a part of this Christian story, and could not get out of it. He held all metaphysical notions on the subject of religion of no account that did not take right hold of human life, as Mr. Phillips had been doing.

It would never do, the Doctor said, to rely upon stories of something which had taken place in the past greater than was taking place or might take place daily. Common sense would express it thus! "Human nature is much as it ever was; God is as he ever was; God lives as much as he ever was alive; God speaks as much as he ever spoke; he has not fallen down, like the man in the Scripture story, in a fit; he has not become suddenly dumb; he cannot have said at any time more than he now says." Although we could not explain how any literary expression does so much to wake up the mind, we felt, after all, that the first voice must be the inner voice, and that the other was a secondary voice—a confirmation of the inner sense. The moral feeling in the mind might seem to be the child of the historical doctrine or fact that was taught, but the moment it existed, it proclaimed itself the parent. It was very important to give a fair operation to the moral feeling, and also to secure a suitable independence from the letter. No intelligent man could read the Bible through save as a record. No man could read the Bible through and say, "This is the voice of God; this expresses the moral sentiment." People were getting very critical about reading the Bible. They found sentiments expressed which they regarded as untrue, irreligious, unscientific, and they could not abide them. He did not apprehend any evil from this resort to the interior feeling. He should as soon think of saying that the symphonies of Beethoven and the orators of Handel and Hayden were all of music, as of saying that the books of the Bible were all of religion.

Here ended the debate; for the pleasant Secretary of the Club appeared, and reminded the speakers that the "Old South" had struck the hour of one past noon, and that, if they were not "too deep for their hearers," still they must not "go on refining, and think of convincing, while they thought of dining." So, announcing that this was the last regular meeting of the Club, he gave them his benediction, and sent them forth "to fresh fields and pastures new." May they come in after the harvest, "bringing their sheaves with them."

SHAWMUT.

## *LITERARY.*

TALE OF A PHYSICIAN; OR THE SEEDS AND FRUITS OF CRIME. By Andrew Jackson Davis. 325 pp. Boston: William White & Co.

One of the important lessons which men and women most need to learn is the relation of the law of hereditary descent to the happiness and progress of mankind. Ignorance and disregard of this law on the part of parents perpetuates from generation to generation the types of unhappy organizations of men and women in whom the criminal tendency is most strongly marked, men and women who seem to have been mortgaged from their cradles to prisons and the gallows. The time will come when the doctrine of right-generation must supplant that of regeneration, when conscience and common sense will do their perfect work in connection with human offspring, as already with the more intelligent husbandmen in the rearing and improvement of domestic animals.

In this latest book by Mr. Davis, startling and tragical in its character, it is shown how in the delicate embryo human being the seeds of crime are planted, how in childhood and after life they flower out and ripen into a criminal harvest. In his introductory Mr. Davis says of the strange, startling and tragical events with which the book abounds, that they "are, even to the minutest details, founded upon facts, with only a thin veil between the reader and the real characters whose temperaments, circumstances, temptations, virtues, vices and crimes are herein truthfully recorded." He was many years ago brought to a vivid consciousness of these events in a most remarkable manner, through the medium of clairvoyance. In another volume, "The Present Age and Inner Life" (pp. 259–265) he gives the details more fully of this wonderful experience. We will attempt no outline of the story as such, but refer our readers to the book itself. While crime continues as at present to flourish, and social disease to prey so destructively upon the vitals of society, this book as a timely warning and as a welcome beacon-light indicating the better way, cannot but do great good in the proportion that it is circulated and read. It is not a pleasant book to read. Some of its pictures and revelations are shocking. We could wish that some of the profane and rude expressions of the worst characters might have been omitted. There is much wholesome teaching ingeniously interwoven in various chapters.

Concerning home life we quote:

"A country of true, homes is a country of true greatness. A strolling gypsy life is the life of degradation and brigandage. The heart needs sheltering even more than the body. So a false, heartless place in which to dress, eat, sleep, work, fret, swear, fight, and debauch, is the house of sin and the gate of hell. Behold little children, innocent infant girls, and innocent baby boys, born and reared in such hideous places! Not one sweet memory, to bind the soul to the saving influences of home! Not one fond thought of a holy mother, not one recollection of loving words spoken in the tranquil peace of a home of love—not one tie too deep for words! No, wretched wanderer! go out into the horrible battle of life—cut your own way through the savage wilderness—every one for himself! Alas, this is the reign of terror, the struggle of tatterdemalions and social savages, the battle of hungry tigers in the human forest—the bloody tragedy of an unprotected, homeless life between the womb and the tomb.

"Oh, ye who live in true, loving, saving homes! Shed tears of pity, and curse not, for ye little know the temptations of those who live in huts, hovels, dens, cabins, attics and holes of crime. Ye have not the faintest gleam of their hardships. They do not themselves *know* that they are breeding and sowing broadcast the seeds of nameless miseries. They never felt the fertilizing love of fond mothers and sisters and brothers. Their appetites were never fed by the delicate dainties of affection. They never knew anything of a holy place where the thoughts and feelings of the selfish world were sometimes not permitted to enter—where, in the mysterious sanctuary of home, they all shut out the tumultuous world for an hour, and together inhaled the sweet humanizing confidences of true hearts.

"Alas, what might *you* have been under the perversions of circumstances more powerful than your will?"

Again in relation to the false education of girls:

"Society has educated girls to be dependent. When they become women, whether married or single, they are absolutely dependent upon men. Her virtues, her graces, her vices, her feebleness, her maternity, her chances in life, all depend upon the man who earns the money and builds the home. Is society just to woman? Was it right to make slaves of a free people? Failure in ancient warfare was punished with servitude. Why has woman failed? Why is she in bondage to man? Because she has never learned the art of honorable self-support on the battle-fields of life. When woman's heavenly function as 'wife' is valued at its immeasurable worth, and when woman's divine worth as "mother" is prized at its infinite value, then indeed will society be just to its eternal interests, and then will woman take her place by man's side, his companion, his counterpart, his peer."

We commend to the thoughtful consideration of those parents, fathers and mothers who are content with things as they are, that girls should still be educated as mere appendages to, and dependents upon men, the very close connection in logical results, with pecuniary reverses, between such false education and the ravages of the alarming "social evil" so vividly depicted in the pages of "A Tale of a Physician."

The inquiry of the good, magnetic French doctor of New Orleans into the causes of criminal, and other marked peculiarities of organization in children, and the responsibility of parents therefor, is one of paramount importance to the well-being of humanity. We hope many may be induced by his example to take up and push the inquiry still farther, in the same excellent spirit.

The book is issued in good style by Mr. Davis' enterprising publishers, William White & Co., of Boston, and may be had in this city of the American News Company. Price one dollar.

*Scattered Seeds* is the title of a very neatly printed, and handsomely illustrated eight page monthly for children, issued under the auspices of the Philadelphia First Day School Association of Friends. The First-Day School movement especially among Hicksite Friends is comparatively new, and is likely to become one of much importance to the Society. Unlike most other Sunday Schools these Friends Schools present with their instruction simple lessons of truth from other than Biblical and so-called evangelical sources, as will be seen from the following paragraph which we clip from the minutes of a First-Day School General Conference held in Philadelphia the 13th, ult:

"Some schools East and West do not use the Bible alone, but get much help from well written stories and from the study of natural objects which display the wonderful goodness and watchful care of the Creator. All truth, whether biblical or not, is acceptable with the Lord and elevating to the soul."

*Scattered Seeds* will interest other than Friends' Children for whom it is especially designed, and will doubtless achieve, as it deserves, a wide circulation. Single subscriptions, fifty cents; to clubs of twenty, thirty-five cents. Address, L. H. Hall, Westchester, Pa.

THE TEMPORARY HOME FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN at 24 Kneeland street, Boston, has now in charge two colored boys, about six years of age,—twins,—both interesting and capable; one remarkably bright and worthy of the best education. They are there waiting to be taken, or adopted by some family. No one who sees them fails to be struck with their noticeable ability. If any reader of this knows of any one wishing to adopt them, please address Mrs. Gwynn, No. 24 Kneeland street, Boston, Massachusetts.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

## Special Notices.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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# Miscellaneous Department.

## THE REWARD.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Who, looking backward from his manhood's prime,
Sees not the spectre of his misspent time?
And, through the shade
Of funeral cypress planted thick behind,
Hears no reproachful whisper on the wind
From his loved dead?

Who bears no trace of passion's evil force?
Who shun's thy sting, O terrible remorse?—
Who does not cast
On the thronged pages of his memory's book,
At times, a sad and half-reluctant look,
Regretful of the Past?

Alas!—the evil which we fain would shun
We do, and leave the wished for good undone:
Our strength to-day
Is but to-morrow's weakness, prone to fall;
Poor, blind, unprofitable servants all
Are we alway.

Yet who, thus looking backward o'er his years,
Feels not his eyelids wet with grateful tears,
If he hath been
Permitted, weak and sinful as he was,
To cheer and aid, in some ennobling cause,
His fellow-men?

If he hath hidden the outcast, or let in
A ray of sunshine to the cell of sin,—
If he hath lent
Strength to the weak, and, in an hour of need,
Over the suffering, mindless of his creed
Or home, hath bent.

He has not lived in vain, and while he gives
The praise to Him, in whom he moves and lives,
With thankful heart;
He gazes backward, and with hope before,
Knowing that from his works he nevermore
Can henceforth part.

## THE CHINESE OF CALIFORNIA.

ONE of the most striking figures to the traveler, in the California landscape, is the Oriental and half-pensive form of the Chinese emigrant, always calm amid all the bustle around him. Sometimes I see these Eastern laborers with their broad hats leisurely working in the fruit-gardens, as if in a tea plantation. Sometimes they are binding sheaves behind the American reapers; again, quietly and reflectively shaking the "rocker" for gold-dust in some lonely river bottom, or steadily working in swarms on a railroad embankment, or riding slowly castaway horses in the Sierras, or traveling over the country mounted on the coach-tops, or making a large and picturesque part of the stream of humanity which pours through the streets of San Francisco—always busy yet never hurried; clean, social, sober, polite, with an expression, it often seems to me, of half contempt for this western hurry and barbarism; the neatest and most respectable working population I ever saw. I am often surprised at the faces and expressions one encounters among them; such, if you saw them in European dress, you would have said were the faces certainly of scholars and gentlemen—countenances frequently of marked refinement, and eyes of deep, thoughtful, almost sad expression. It is a strange contrast the powerful, intense, pushing sons of the Pilgrims, and this meek, quiet dreamy pagan of the Orient, meeting on the shores of the Pacific. The latter bends like the rush before our iron race; he abandons the immemorial customs of ages, and falls, to a degree, into the current of Anglo-American civilization. One old sea captain, who had been much in the East, said he had seen many countries where the Chinese were living as strangers, but "this was the only one where John Chinaman hides his pig-tail." He dresses frequently (in the country) like an American; he begins occasionally to eat beef, and has already learned something of Yankee sharpness. In general, however, he is still a stranger—the very incarnation of meekness and submission beneath the strong race which he is serving.

There is one habit in man which always seemed to me to bring him nearest to the brute creation—the disposition to attack or oppress a fellow-creature who is disabled by nature or is too weak to resist; that tendency which makes horses kick the lame one, or fowls attack the dying one of the flock.

The Chinaman has been the luckless object of this brutal instinct in California. He has incarnated, amid a Christian community, the inspired doctrine of "Resist not evil!" "Turn ye the other cheek!" and the result has been that every man's hand has been against him. The whites have cheated, robbed, beaten him, and he has returned it all with docility and faithful service. When struck, he struck not again; when robbed (at least so it was a few years ago), he complained not; when murdered, there was often no redress. The most miserable, drunken, white ruffian could beat him, or strip him of his hard earnings, or kill him, and if there were no white witnesses, justice could not overtake the offender. While all other men—even the lowest vagabonds—were gladly admitted to the mines, he alone was, and is now, excluded; and even on the placer-diggings, he alone must pay his tax of four dollars before being permitted to work. Even the Digger Indians, seeing this universal oppression, ventured also to plunder and persecute this unresisting stranger.

He had no influential friends; he did not know the language; he had no power to resist, and for years the Chinaman tried the virtue of meekness on his enemies.

It is a history, like our treatment of the Indians and the negroes, which should make every American blush—of wrong done to the helpless and borne with meekness; of oppression on the weak which never called forth an act of resistance or word of retort. At length, the aspect of this Christian patience in a Pagan; this meekness, which bore all without a murmur; of this enduring, industrious, respectful stranger, who did his work faithfully, and returned not evil for evil, began to touch the generosity of Californians. The Chinaman, even against the prejudices of race, and the competition of ignorant labor, began to win his way to public respect. White men sometimes took his part against white ruffians. Employers found him too useful to permit him to be driven off by "anti-coolie" vagabonds. The conscience of the people arose against this oppression. Public opinion more and more sheltered him, and set the pursuit of justice after those who wronged him. White men have even been hung, in these later years, for murdering Chinese. Their labor, too, became more and more indispensable for the country. A hundred different branches soon depended on it. Without it, it was evident that manufactures and a large part of California agriculture and horticulture would cease to exist; railroads could not be constructed, and a vast deal of business must be contracted or given up. The result, both of conscience and of interest, in California, has been a great change of opinion and action toward the Chinese. People everywhere speak well of them, and agree that they are the most industrious and steady of laborers, not as efficient, perhaps, as the Irish, but more regular and sober, and with a great talent at imitation. In person they are the neatest of creatures. I have seen a whole gang, after a day's work on a farm, washing themselves all over with warm water, which they keep ready for their return, as carefully as a company of gentlemen, and I was assured this is their daily habit. The common laborers are said to keep a horn instrument for cleaning their tongues every morning! They are always neatly and nicely dressed, and are far more agreeable coach-company than the Mexicans or Spaniards here, who are exceedingly "odorous." But though opinion has so much changed toward them, I frequently hear of or see such acts as this, reported recently to the *Bulletin*:

"A BRUTAL SCENE.

"*Editor Bulletin*—A most inhuman scene occurred on Sunday evening at the corner of Green and Dupont street. A party of young scamps—the oldest not more than eleven years—attacked a peaceable Chinaman, without provocation, and beat him in an unmerciful manner. They pulled him down, beat and kicked him, and pelted him with stones till the blood ran out of the wounds. A large crowd stood around at the time, and none of them offered to interfere. One man—elbowing and pushing himself up to where the poor fellow lay—seeing that it was a Chinaman, exclaimed, 'O, it's nothing but a Chinaman! Served him right; been a good thing if they had killed him entirely!' When the policeman arrived the boys had decamped; and when he proceeded to lift the Chinaman it was found that he was not able to stand, the poor fellow groaning the while in terrible agony.

"These flagrant outrages are frequent in that neighborhood. Hardly a night passes but what a Chinaman is attacked by these young ruffians."

Or this:

"ILL-TREATMENT OF CHINESE.—Not long ago, a gentleman passing along Kearney street, interfered to save a little Chinese boy from the attacks of a dog, whom half a dozen white-skinned scoundrels were setting upon him, that they might enjoy the precious sight of the agony of the screaming child. That instance of inhumanity is not an insolated case. The *Alta* of yesterday morning says:

"Last evening, at the fire on Dupont street, a crowd of Waverley Place loafers, and thieves, and roughs, who were being kept back from the fire by the police, amused themselves by throwing a Chinawoman down in the muddy street, and dragging her back and forth by the hair for some minutes. The poor female heathen was rescued from their clutches at last by officer Saulsbury, and taken to the calaboose for protection. He also arrested one of her assailants, who was pointed out by the woman, but as she could not testify against him he was dismissed on his arrival at the calaboose. The woman then begged an officer to take her to her husband's house, saying, in piteous accents, 'Do pleasy with me go! So many white mans killy me! Do with me go!'"

My laundryman came recently, with his basket splashed with mud and his clothes spoiled, weeping bitterly, saying that some boys had pelted and attacked him. He evidently had not resisted. I was pleased to see, however, the other day, that some "anti-coolie" school-boys, who were attacking some little yellow boys, met with as good as they gave, and at length were fairly driven off the field by the stones of their Mongolian antagonists.

The odious tax on the Chinese miner, however, still exists, and he is still excluded from most of the mines. Morever, at this day, a white scoundrel could enter the cabin of a half-a-dozen honest Chinese with his revolver in hand, rob them of their toilsome earnings, and murder one or more, and no testimony of theirs could convict him. Such an injustice as this, established by law, is a damning blot on Californian civilization. It is as bad as many of the abuses of slavery, and one is surprised how the humanity and religion of this State could have endured it so long. No sensible man of any party defends it.

The old battle of humanity fought out on our coast, of justice to the negro, is going on here in different form—of justice to the pagan. The same weapons are used, the same appeals to low and ignorant prejudices of race, and the same assertion of the universal rights of humanity. Caste and ignorance and demagogue sophisms on one side, and enthusiasm and generosity and the principles of justice on the other. In the recent political canvass, the Union candidate was represented in caricatures as leading to the polls a Digger Indian, a Chinaman, and a baboon, though all that he or his party ever claim for the Chinaman is "justice before the law."

And when we read of a prominent politician—Judge AXTELL, a successful candidate for Congress—uttering such nonsense as this (and we seem to have heard precisely the same sentiments a hundred times in New York political meetings), we know perfectly what sort of men utter them, and what hear them:

"The employment of Chinese," said the Judge, "on the Pacific Railroad, toward the construction of which California and the United States had made magnificent donations in money and lands, he condemned emphatically. He was opposed to, and would prevent as far as possible, giving that glorious patrimony to Chinese or negroes. The advantages of that great work must redound to the benefit of white men."

We also know how such a contest must end. We know that the spirit of the age and all forces unseen, are moving like a spring-tide with the party of justice, and however long delayed, the triumph of equal rights to all must come.—*The New West, or California in 1867-1868, by Charles Loring Brace, (G. P. Putnam and Son).*

## THE CLOSE OF ACT FIRST.

AS IN the mountain fastnesses of Crete the brave peasantry have, sadly but not despairingly, folded and hidden away the flag of the Cross, so we sorrowfully farl, but do not strike, the Cretan flag on this side of the Atlantic.

The time of the appearance of our next number is uncertain.

As surely as human progress is destined to go on; as surely as Christiannity is to triumph over Mahommedanism, so surely will the Cretans again unfurl their flag to the breeze, and again do battle for their religion and political freedom; and, if there be breath enough left in us, a hearty cheer for them shall be heard in America.

We have often assured our readers that the Turks could never subdue the mountain regions of Crete; and they have not done so.

The struggle would have gone on indefinitely, but for the direct and scandalous interference of the Christian despotisms of Europe. European diplomacy, not Turkish power; the pen, not the cimeter,—has put a temporary stop to the bloody strife.

It has been carried on for three years, at immense cost of blood and treasure to Turkey. It suited at least one of the Great Powers that she should deplete and exhaust herself.

The campaign of this spring would have opened with better prospects for the Cretans, and with gloomier ones for the Turks, than that of '68. Turkey was at the end of her wits and her resources. She was fast bleeding to death, and bringing herself into popular odium! while the Cretans, still holding their mountains, were rapidly winning the moral support of the world.

The long continuance of this attempt of a heathen power to re-enslave a Christian people by a barbarous mode of warfare was exciting an indignation throughout Christendom, which threatened the interests of the despotisms thereof; and they decreed that it must stop. They resolved, moreover, that these pestilent uprisings of oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe must be discouraged, inasmuch as they threatened the *status in quo*.

The Turks, therefore, were allowed, in sight of the fleets of England, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia, to blockade the neutral ports through which the Cretans obtained their supplies. This settled the matter. The Turks had so utterly devastated all the open country in Crete, that it could not produce enough to keep men alive. The Cretans had counted upon the neutral ports of Syra and Cerigo being kept open, and knew they could run in their supplies of bread and bullets from thence, in spite of all the cruisers that Turkey could keep afloat. Had they not good right so to count? Those ports were to them what Liverpool and St. Thomas were to our slave-holding rebels. Suppose we had blockaded St. Thomas,—what a diplomatic pother, what threats, what violence, would have followed! not from England and Denmark alone, but from an alliance of despotisms. The rebels fighting for slavery, and against republicanism, were upholding the interests of despotism; therefore, the sacred shield of neutrality must protect them. The Cretans were fighting for freedom against tyrants, and against the interests of despotism; therefore, the shield of neutrality must be withdrawn. Let the Turks blockade the neutral ports of Greece, and starve them into submission! The Greeks are poor and feeble, and cannot resist!

This is the gist of the matter. History will reveal the diplomatic jugglery by which Turkey has been aided to put down the Cretan insurrection.

It will reveal, also, the scandalous part which our Government played in the matter.

The whole moral weight of free America was thrown into the scale upon the side of despotism. Mr. Seward's policy was to favor Turkey, and suppress all movements tending to develop the independence of the Christian nationalities which she holds by the sword in subjection. Not only did he refuse permission to our gallant commodores to allow our ships of war to join those of other nations in saving women and children pursued to the shores of Crete by the Turks; but, by various diplomatic measures, he damaged the Cretan cause.

The baleful effects of his foreign policy will, for some time to come, prevent the cause of republicanism from receiving the moral support which it ought to receive from a knowledge of the hearty sympathy of our great people. But we trust that the dark shadow may soon pass away. Let us unceasingly labor to that end; and, ere another decade shall pass, the Crescent shall trail in the dust, and the standard of the Cross wave in every breeze that blows across the fair but now desolated Island of Crete. "There is a God in heaven, and there must be justice on the earth," however tyrants may join hands to prolong the reign of oppression.—*The Cretan for June.*

## ASCENSION DAY.

Upward with Thee!
Beyond the dim, thick mists of earth,
That blur each holy thought;
Beyond the griefs of mortal birth,
With restless murmurs fraught;
Beyond the weary days of toil,
Whose harvest seems but weeds;
Beyond the nights of heart-turmoil,
When hope dies out in needs.

Upward with Thee!
Bearing but meagre, ill-ripe sheaves,
As fruit of all our life;
Bearing dry and shrivelled leaves,
Parched by human strife;
Bearing "the talent" hid by sloth,
Wasted, dead, abused;
Bearing "the lamp" our hands were loth
To trim, or light, unused.

Yet upward still with Thee!
Thy mighty, blessed Love forgives
The ill our years have wrought;
Thy arm uplifts each heart that lives,
To Thee by sorrow brought;
Thy mercies are the wings that bear
Our fainting souls to God;
Thy angels soothe all tears, all care,
Prints where Thy feet once trod.

Upward with Thee!
Above—O infinite release—
Thou bid'st us share thy rest;
No earthiness invades that peace—
Thyself crowns Heaven blest!
Above—to meet each long-lost friend
Death bore from mortal sight;
In Thee our spirit-lives to blend
'Mid joy that knows no blight.

—*Transcript.* E. T. H.

## PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY.

THE life of Shelley has never been written. When, after the death of her husband, Mrs. Shelley returned from Italy to England, she desired, first of all, to write his biography as she only could have written it. But she found herself and her only child, a son, completely in the power of Sir Timothy Shelley, the brother of the poet's father, who had inherited the estates and title of the baronetcy. This baronet had also inherited all the moroseness and narrowness of his elder brother, and he forbade Mrs. Shelley not only the writing of her husband's memoir, but even any book at all, threatening, if she did so, to "stop the supplies." These supplies consisted of an annual loan—not a gift—which he supplied to Mrs. Shelley on the faith of her expected reversion; and all these loans were repaid, Sir Timothy having unhesitatingly received them. It was a hard struggle with the poor widow between her duty to the memory of Shelley and that toward her son, whose welfare and education imperatively demanded the annual loan; and the result is, we have to thank the crabbed old baronet not only for our want of a real biography, but also for the silence of the authoress of "Frankenstein" at the period of the ripeness of her genius. After Sir Timothy's death the present Sir Percy Shelley, the poet's son, and his wife, fixed upon Mr. Thomas Jefferson Hogg as the most proper person to write the poet's life, and the selection was certainly a good one.

When the whole of the voluminous letters and papers connected with Shelley were placed in the hands of Hogg he went heartily to work, with the single aim of presenting to the world the poet and the man as he was, and the result of such a course was not surprising. In the first two volumes, which covered about half of the poet's life, such a free use had been made of the materials, and so little caution observed toward the living, that a swarm of hornets soon came raging about Hogg's head. Impaled tutors and professors who had ground Shelley under their dullness, men who had snubbed him, connections who had given him cold-shoulders, all were now furious when, under the pen-wand of the remorseless Hogg, the ghosts of their unkindnesses to one whom all were mourning returned to haunt them. Of course the arm of Hogg must be held from further mischief, and so Lady Shelley, who, more than Sir Percy, had controlled the matter, withdrew the papers, and so the real story about Shelley remains but half told Lady Shelley then sent for Leigh Hunt—then an old man—and after consultation she entered upon her "Memorials," which is certainly a well-written and valuable work, but by no means tells the whole story we wish to know. Medwin's "Life of Shelley," Middleton's "Shelley and his writings," are also valuable as contributions; and rich glimpses of the poet are obtained through Leigh Hunt's "Correspondence" and Trelawney's "Recollections of the last Days of Shelley and Byron." Fragments all: but was not Shelley's life itself a series of fragments, which Fate never permitted even to be pieced together into the grand mosaic which each suggested?—*M. D. Conway, in Harper's Magazine.*

INTERESTING EXPERIMENTS.—Prof. Tyndall has made some very surprising experiments by passing vapors of different chemical substances into an exhausted glass tube, and then sending through them a beam of electric light. The vapor is at first invisible, but after the light has shone through it for a few seconds, it forms a cloud of blue, green, red, or mauve color, which breaks up into the most fantastic and beautiful forms, endowed with a rotary motion, which adds greatly to their effect on the eye. In some instances, the cloud takes the shape of funnels overlapping each other, and, curiously enough, the inner ones can be seen through the outer ones. The most surprising of all is the vapor of hydriodic acid. The cloud is seen cone-shaped, supporting vases of exquisite form, and over the edges of these vases fall faint clouds, resembling spectral sheets of liquid. Afterwards, a change takes place—roses, tulips, and sunflowers appear; then come a series of beautifully shaped bottles, one within the other, and on one occasion there was seen the shape of a fish with eyes, gills, and feelers. What, it may be asked, is the use of all this fantastic beauty? The answer is, that Dr. Tyndall finds therein illustration of chemical decomposition, examples of molecular physics, and explanations of the formation of cloud and the blue color of the sky, whereof we shall hear more by-and-by, and by which science will be enriched.—*Scientific American.*

THE DUTCH.—For more than a century the Dutch were the laughing-stock of polite Europe. They were butter-firkins, swillers of beer and schnapps, and their *vrouws* from whom Holbein painted the all-but loveliest of Madonnas; Rembrandt the graceful girl who sits immortal on his knee in Dresden, and Rubens his abounding goddesses, were the synonymes of clumsy vulgarity. Even so late as Irving the ships of the greatest navigators in the world were represented as sailing equally well stern-foremost. That the aristocratic Venetians should have—

"Riveted with gigantic piles
Through the centre their new-catched miles

was heroic. But the far more marvellous achievement of the Dutch in the same kind was ludicrous even to republican Marvell. Meanwhile, during that very century of scorn, they were the best artists, sailors, merchants, bankers, printers, scholars, jurisconsults, and statesmen in Europe, and the genius of Motley has revealed them to us, earning a right to themselves by the most heroic struggle in human annals. But, alas! they were not merely simple burghers who had fairly made themselves High Mightinesses, and could treat on equal terms with anointed kings, but their commonwealth carried in its bosom the germs of democracy. They even unmuzzled, at least after dark, that dreadful mastiff, the Press, whose scent is, or ought to be, so keen for wolves in sheep's clothing and for certain other animals in lions' skins. They made fun of Sacred Majesty, and, what was worse, managed uncommonly well without it. In an age when periwigs made so large a part of the natural dignity of man, people with such a turn of mind were dangerous. How could they seem other than vulgar and hateful?—*Atlantic Monthly.*

PRINTS ON APPLES AND PEARS.—A friend who has lately been on a visit to the "Hub of the Universe," writes thus: I have just seen a very pretty and fanciful idea developed on pears and apples in the orchard of a friend at West Roxbury, Mass. As you ramble among the trees you are ever and anon saluted by an inscription upon the fruit, done as it were by the hands of nature herself. Here you meet with the familiar name of Mary, or Alice, or a date—(1868)—in brief, everything that may suggest itself to your taste or fancy; and all done in the skin of the fruit, without abrasion or any foreign impression. The discovery was made by the Hon. Arthur W. Austin, of West Roxbury, in 1851-'52. He observed, during the former year, that apples did not redden in that part of the fruit where a leaf happened to lie upon it. In 1852 he cut out letters from newspapers, and when the apples were yet green he pasted them upon them with paste such as the apothecaries use, made of gum tragacanth. The apples would *redden* in all parts *not* covered by the pasted letters. When the fruit had reddened to perfection the letters were removed, and they would appear perfectly outlined in green. So, again, when he pasted on the apple a paper in which the letters were *cut out*, the *parts* covered by the *paper* would be *green*, and the *letters* would appear, distinctly turned in red, the green ground surrounding them. The experiment is a very pretty one, and produces a happy effect. Let our fruit growers try it. How much sweeter must be the relish of apple or pear, if the name of a favorite should thus appear on it, as if written by the hand of nature. What a superior price such fruit so inscribed would command in market, and what a pretty present it would be to any lady at a feast.

## THE TREE'S OFFERING.

THE tree's early leaf-buds were bursting their brown:
"Shall I take them away?" said the Frost sweeping down.
"No; leave them alone
Till the blossoms have grown,"
Prayed the tree while he trembled from rooflet to crown.

The Tree bore his blossoms, and all the birds sung:
"Shall I take them away?" said the Wind as he swung.
"No; let them alone
Till the berries have grown,"
Said the Tree, while his leaflets quivering hung.

The Tree bore his fruit in the midsummmer glow:
Said the girl, "May I gather thy berries or no?"
"Yes: all thou canst see—
Take them; all are for thee!"
Said the Tree, while he bent down his laden boughs low.

—*From the Norwegian of Bjornson.*

AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE.—At present we have no architecture; we build well, and our streets show elegant and commodious dwellings, costly and elaborate churches, solid-looking banks, plain and useful public schools, gorgeous hotels, and warehouses of every style; but we look in vain for the expression of an original idea—for the successful working out of a distinct purpose. We have buildings in every imaginable exageration of bad taste and with every possible confusion of rule, order and style—aggravatingly pretentious and provokingly destitute of architectural fitness. A Greek temple stands for a custom-house, a college or a bank; a prison is represented by a Norman keep or an Egyptian temple; a court-house resembles a barn or factory; and so most of our public buildings might be interchanged without sacrifice or detriment of any rule of architectural propriety or æsthetic feeling.—*Lippincott's Magazine.*

THE EARTHQUAKES UNDER THE PACIFIC.—The earthquake waves of August last were felt in a memorable way at Samoa (Navigators' Islands). At Upon, one of the group, a wave from twenty to thirty feet in height burst upon the shore at 2 A. M., when the natives were all asleep. It came without warning, in calm weather, and the affrighted people woke to find themselves floating, with the roofs of their houses and their household gear, among the tree tops. Some were left lodged in the branches; others were carried on by the rush and plumped into a swamp behind the village. The alarm was great, but the loss of life was small. The first wave was followed by a second nearly equal in magnitude; after which, from 9 to 11 A. M., the tide rose and fell eighteen times.


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The Highest Expression of the Imperial Commission.

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DR. E. D. HUDSON.
FOR ARTIFICIAL LIMBS (Legs and Arms.)
By the International Jury, PARIS, 1867.

LE CONSEILLER D'ETAT, Commissaire General, F. LE PLAY. | LE MINISTRE, Vice Pres't de la Com. Imperiale, CE. FOREADE.

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSIONER, T. W. EVANS, M. D., MEMBER OF THE JURY OF THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION, TO THE UNITED STATES. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. To wit:

DR. HUDSON has received from the IMPERIAL COMMISSION a BRONZE MEDAL and DIPLOMA, for the limbs sent by him, which have been particularly admired, and are in execution unquestionably the most remarkable in the Exposition." (The only Limbs which had the award of the Medal.)

TESTIMONIAL OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION AT THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1867.

"IN THE NAME OF THE CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS,

"I have the honor to inform you that a MEDAL has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.
PARIS, September 5th, 1868.

COUNT SERUIER, Commissioner General of the International Exposition, President of the Conference.
COUNT G. de CHABOLY, T. GAUVIY. } General Secretaries.
To Monsieur Hudson."

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*** All communications are to be addressed. THE RADICAL, Lock Box 132, Boston, Mass.

Published by the PROPRIETORS, 25 Broomfield street, Boston.

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